

1823
M E M O I R S

OF THE

L I F E A N D R E I G N

OF

Frederick
F R E D E R I C K,

THE THIRD

K I N G O F P R U S S I A.

BY JOSEPH TOWERS, L.L.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

M D C C X C V.

M E M O I R S

OF THE

LIFETIME OF

FREDERICK

THE THIRD

KING OF PRUSSIA

BY JOSEPH TOWERS

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

VOLUME II

LONDON

PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD



C O N T E N T S

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

C H A P. XXI.

Marechal Daun takes under his command the troops of the empress-queen.—He defeats the Prussian monarch at the battle of Kolin.—Frederick raises the siege of Prague, and retires into Saxony.—The town of Zittan attacked by the Austrians, and nearly destroyed.—The prince of Prussia leaves the army.—The French make themselves masters of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres, and Embden, and of the electorate of Hanover. Page 1.

C H A P. XXII.

Progress of the Russian army, under marechal Apraxin.—Memel taken by the Russians.—Frederick's de-

A 2

claration

C O N T E N T S.

claration on his dominions being invaded by the Russians.—Battle of Gross Jagersdorff.—Retreat of the Russians.—The Swedes invade the Prussian dominions; but are successfully opposed by general Lehwald.—Convention of Closter-Seven.—Declaration of the king of Great Britain. Page 18.

C H A P. XXIII.

The king of Prussia enters Lusatia, and encamps at Bautzen.—He is joined by marechal Keith.—Removes his head-quarters to Bernstädtel, and afterwards repeatedly offers battle to the Austrian army; but his offer is declined.—A detachment of Austrians march to Berlin, and levy contributions on the inhabitants.—Rigorous exactions by the king of Prussia on the inhabitants of Saxony.—The city of Leipsic invested by the combined army of the empire, and of France. 32.

C H A P. XXIV.

Critical state of the affairs of the king of Prussia at the present period.—He is reconciled to Voltaire, and continues to correspond with him.—Obtains a signal victory over the combined army of the empire, and of France, at Rosbach.—The Hanoverians resume their arms, notwithstanding the convention of Closter-Seven.—Battle of Breslaw.—Battle of Lissa.—End of the campaign of 1757. 50.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXV.

Schweidnitz surrenders to the king of Prussia.—A subsidiary treaty entered into between him and the king of Great Britain.—Frederick enters Moravia at the head of his army, and lays siege to Olmutz.—Marechal Daun also enters Moravia, intercepts the Prussian convoys, and obliges the king to raise the siege.

Page 90.

C H A P. XXVI.

Frederick retires out of Moravia, marches into Bohemia, and makes himself master of Koningsgratz.—The Russians enter the Prussian dominions, and commit great ravages there.—Siege of Custrin.—The king of Prussia sets out from Bohemia, to oppose the progress of the Russians.—Battle of Zorndorff.

104.

C H A P. XXVII.

The king of Prussia, having defeated the Russians at Zorndorff, marches into Lusatia.—He is surprised by count Daun at Hochkirchen.—Death of marechal Keith.—Frederick encamps at Dobresechutz, and afterwards marches into Silesia,
and

C O N T E N T S.

and raises the siege of Neifs, and that of Cosel.
—Marechal Daun besieges Dresden, and part of
the suburbs destroyed by the Prussian governor.—
The king marches into Saxony, and raises the siege
of Dresden.—Military operations of the Swedes.
—Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of
Leipsic.—Military operations in the electorate of
Hanover, and in Westphalia. Page 125.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Frederick sends a body of troops into Poland, and
destroys the magazines of the Russians in that
country.—The magazines of the Austrians, in
Bohemia, also destroyed by prince Henry of Prussia.
—Manifestoes published by count Dobna, on his
entering Poland, at the head of a Prussian army.
—Battle of Zulichau.—Battle of Kunersdorff.—
General Finck surrounded, and taken prisoner,
with nearly fifteen thousand Prussians under his
command, at Maxen.—Military operations of
prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.—Declaration of
their Britannick and Prussian majesties to the
several belligerent powers.—Frederick's decla-
ration relative to the removal of his prisoners to
Spandau. 155.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXIX.

Frederick encamps his army between the Elbe and the Multa.—His letter to king Stanislaus.—Declarations relative to peace made by the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Versailles.—General Fouquet, with a large body of Prussians, defeated and taken by general Laudohn, at Landsbut.—Bombardment of Dresden by the king of Prussia.—Memorial published on that occasion by the king of Poland.—Bombardment of Breslaw by general Laudohn,

Page 187.

C H A P. XXX.

Frederick marches into Silesia.—Battle of Lignitz.—Letter from the king to the marquis D'Argens.—He forms a junction with his brother prince Henry, and raises the siege of Schweidnitz.—The Russians and Austrians enter the March of Brandenburg, and make themselves masters of Berlin.—After a short stay, the Russians retire into Poland, and the Austrians into Saxony.—Progress of the Imperialists and Austrians in Saxony.—Battle of Torgau.—The king's correspondence with the countess de Camas.—He puts his troops into winter-quarters.

206.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXXI.

Frederick takes possession of a strong camp in Upper Silesia.—Sends a body of troops into Poland, who destroy the magazines of the Russians.—General Laudohn takes Schweidnitz by a coup de main.—The Russians make themselves masters of Colberg.—Death of the empress of Russia.—The king of Prussia again makes himself master of Schweidnitz.—The combined army of Imperialists and Austrians, in Saxony, defeated by prince Henry of Prussia at Freyberg.—Inursions made by the Prussian troops into Bohemia and Franconia, and heavy contributions levied on the inhabitants.—Peace of Hubertsbourg, Page 235.

C H A P. XXXII.

Frederick returns to Berlin, after an absence of more than six years.—Donations to his subjects, who had suffered during the war.—Visits his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia.—Rebuilds the towns and villages destroyed during the war, and encourages agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.—Receives an ambassador from Mustapha III. emperor of the Turks.

C O N T E N T S.

Turks.—His correspondence with M. D'Alembert.—Release of baron Trenck from his confinement at Magdeburg.

Page 263.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Frederick's letter to Stanislaus Poniatowski, on his elevation to the throne of Poland.—He visits the duchy of Silesia, and makes sundry new regulations in different parts of his dominions.—Establishes several beneficial institutions.—Receives a visit from the emperor at Neiss, in Silesia.—Erects a new palace near Potsdam, and a great number of new buildings in that city, and at Berlin.—His prejudice against German artists.

292.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The king of Prussia pays a visit to the emperor, at Neussadt, in Moravia.—The territories of Dantzick invaded by Prussian troops.—Partition of Poland.

313.

C H A P. XXXV.

Frederick's attachment to music.—Account of his performance on the German flute, at his private

b

concerts

C O N T E N T S.

concerts at Sans-Souci.—Particulars relative to the public operas at Berlin.—The king's mode of living at this period.

Page 341.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Contest between Frederick and the court of Vienna, concerning the succession to the electorate of Bavaria.—Manifesto published by him at Berlin on that subject.—His speech to his general officers, previously to his setting out for Silesia.—Peace of Teschen.—The king writes a panegyric on Voltaire.—Case of the miller Arnold.—Frederick interferes in the affairs of Holland, in support of the stadtholder.

357.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The great attention of the king of Prussia to the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the general prosperity of his dominions.—Increase of population in the Prussian dominions during the reign of Frederick.—Establishment of the Germanic union.—Treaty of amity and commerce between Prussia and the United States of America.—Death of the king.

400.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Character of Frederick III. king of Prussia.—Further account of his writings.—Additional anecdotes. Page 427.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Observations on the Military Establishment of Prussia, and on the Prussian Government.—Conclusion. 463.

P. MEMOIRS

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Character of Frederick III. king of Prussia.—Far-
ther account of his writings.—Additional notes.
Page 427.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Observations on the Military Establishment of
Prussia, and on the Prussian Government.—Con-
clusion. Page 463.



M E M O I R S

M E M O I R S

OF THE

L I F E A N D R E I G N

OF

F R E D E R I C K,

THE THIRD

K I N G O F P R U S S I A.

C H A P. XXI.

Marechal Daun takes under his command the troops of the empress-queen.—He defeats the Prussian monarch at the battle of Kolin.—Frederick raises the siege of Prague, and retires into Saxony.—The town of Zittau attacked by the Austrians, and nearly destroyed.—The prince of Prussia leaves the army.—The French make themselves masters of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres, and Embden, and of the electorate of Hanover.

THE king of Prussia had opened the campaign of the year 1757, with the most consummate military skill; and, in the battle of

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

VOL. II.

B

PRAGUE,

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

PRAGUE, had gained a signal victory over the Austrians. The manner, in which he opened his campaigns, has been much admired by military men. Major-general Lloyd says, that 'no general has ever opened the different campaigns with more greatness or precision than the king of Prussia. His quarters were so disposed, that it was scarcely possible, from thence, to guess at his intentions; as he could, seemingly, with equal facility, form very different enterprises. From whence it always happened, that he began his operations with great views, celerity, and exactness; and, when his troops were attacked in their quarters, they always assembled in the places appointed, without ever having suffered any considerable loss: which is the more extraordinary, as he had very few light troops, especially in the beginning'.

BUT though Frederick had hitherto been thus successful, yet he was now about to sustain a considerable reverse of fortune. This was chiefly occasioned by the appearance, on the theatre of war, of a new general, LEOPOLD count DAUN, who was now appointed to command the Austrian troops. He had never commanded in chief before; but he had been formed, by a long course of experience, in various parts of Europe, and under the ablest generals. Though of an illustrious

' History of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 51.

trious



trious descent, he had risen to his present rank by the slow gradation of mere merit, without any assistance from court favour [A]. He had under

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

[A] Count DAUN was born in 1695, at Knin, a small city situated upon a branch of the Moldau, about ten leagues from Prague. His father, Joseph count Daun, was of the imperial family; and his mother was daughter of count Konigsfegg. At her marriage, her portion was five thousand florins, and the little city of Konigsfegg. The young count was not brought up in the manner usual to persons of his rank: he had few indulgencies, and his food was coarse, and his clothes plain. He always went bare-headed; he was sent to school with other boys of his own age; and with them he was suffered to ramble about the woods, and to clamber up precipices, according to the custom of the country. He was educated at Kolin, and the books in which he most delighted were Justin and Quintus Curtius, particularly the latter. At the age of fourteen he was sent to the army in Flanders, and learned the first rudiments of the art of war under prince Eugene. He was a volunteer at the battle of Malplaquet; and his personal bravery being then much taken notice of by the famous count Kevenhuller, he was honoured after the battle with a standard in the regiment of Keysser, which he kept till the year 1717, when prince Eugene gave a total defeat to the Turks, at the battle of Peterwaradin. He had then studied for six years the arts of gunnery and fortification; and it is also said, that there was scarcely a village in Germany, Bohemia, or Hungary, with the situation and importance of which he was not accurately acquainted.

After the battle of Peterwaradin, he was advanced, by prince Eugene, to be a captain of dragoons; and, three years after, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was present at the siege of Philipsburgh in 1734; and it was under his direction, that the cannon was fired by which

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

under his command a large body of troops from Moravia, and received orders, before the battle of Prague, to join the main Austrian army near that city. When he arrived within a few miles of Prague, he received information of the victory, which had been obtained by the king of Prussia only the day before. Orders were afterwards sent to him from the court of Vienna, to act as he should judge most advantageous for the service of the empress-queen. He collected the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable, as to attract the notice of the king of Prussia, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions, and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable. But count Daun was too prudent to give battle, with dispirited troops, to an army flushed with victory. He retired, when he received informa-

tion
marechal Berwick was killed; though he regretted the death of that general, both on account of his military talents, and his virtues as a man. Count Daun served in the Austrian army as a colonel of dragoons, in the first war that broke out between the king of Prussia and the empress-queen; and at the battle of Dettingen he commanded some Hungarians against the French. In 1745, he was made a general of infantry; and in 1751, he was commandant of Vienna. In 1753, he was made a knight of the golden fleece; and, in 1754, was promoted to the rank of field-marechal. He was a middle sized man, and of a countenance remarkably engaging.

tion

tion that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at KOLIN. Here he intrenched himself strongly, and his army soon grew more numerous by the succours, which the court of Vienna exerted all their power to send him; and he inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved. He divided the Prussian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs; he weakened his efforts against Prague, and harrassed him by cutting off his convoys; and, by degrees, he restored the languishing and almost desponding spirit of the Austrian troops.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

THE king of Prussia was fully sensible of the dangerous tendency to himself of the conduct of count Daun. He, therefore, determined, at all events, to attempt to dislodge him from his post. He accordingly prepared to attack him with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians now amounted to sixty thousand men; and they were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified, and defended with heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet strong as this situation was, and numerous as the Austrians were, Frederick undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

exceeding thirty-two thousand men². It is said, that marechal Keith strongly dissuaded him against this attempt; but the king could not be prevailed upon to desist from his purpose; and was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the military talents of the general with whom he was about to encounter.

It was on the eighteenth of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the king of Prussia began the attack of the Austrians at KOLIN, under count Daun. The Prussian infantry marched up to the heights on which the Austrians were posted, and attacked their first line with great intrepidity. They drove them from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and from two villages defended by several batteries. But, in attacking the third eminence, they were flanked by the Austrian cavalry; the Austrian grape shot also poured like hail upon the Prussians; and after a violent conflict, and a prodigious loss of men, they were thrown into disorder. Animated with the presence of their king, the Prussians, however, soon rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge. But they were a second time repulsed; capital mistakes were made by two of the Prussian generals; and the orders of the king were not properly understood and obeyed. But prince Ferdinand of Brunswick

² Smollett, ut supra, p. 135, 136. Annual Register, vol. I. p. 18.

greatly

greatly distinguished himself in this action; and seven times did the Prussians return to the attack; but without success. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the Austrians, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, and numbers, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and to compel them to retreat. The king himself, at the head of his cavalry, made one furious and concluding charge. Every effort was made, but every thing proved unsuccessful. At last, after exposing his person in the most dangerous situations, Frederick drew off his forces from the field of battle, and retired in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage³.

CHAP.
XXI.
A.D.
1757.

THE loss of the Prussians, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in the battle of KOLIN, was stated to be about fourteen thousand; and the loss of the Austrians, in killed and wounded, was computed to be more than eight thousand. Marechal Daun had a horse killed under him, and received two wounds in the action; but they were neither of them dangerous.

³ Smollett, ut supra, p. 137, 138. Annual Register, ut supra.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

THE Prussian army having retreated to Nimburg, the king left the command to the prince of Bevern, and being escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, immediately set out for Prague, where he arrived the next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback. He gave instant orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and these orders were executed with so much celerity, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison was informed of the king's defeat. But when the news of the battle arrived at Prague, prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of the Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; though he was no farther successful against them, than by killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with the utmost joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia⁴.

AFTER the battle of Kolin, Frederick very frankly acknowledged his own imprudence, in the attack which he had made upon the Austrian general, when he was so strongly posted, and with an inferior force. In a letter written by him at this time to the earl-marshal of Scot-

⁴ Smollett, ut supra, p. 139, 140.

land [B], brother to marechal Keith, are the following passages: ' The imperial grenadiers are ' an admirable corps: one hundred companies ' defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction of it. That of Prussia only can dispute it with him. I had too few infantry. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push that I made with my household troops, and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a rising

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

[B] GEORGE KEITH, Earl-Marshal of Scotland, having engaged in the rebellion in 1715, and been present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was afterwards attainted in parliament. He was much respected for his personal virtues, and was made by the king of Prussia governor of Neufchatel. He was likewise employed by the Prussian monarch as ambassador to France; and, by his intercession, received a pardon from king George II. for the share he had in the rebellion of 1715; and, in 1760, his attainder was reversed. After his pardon had passed the seals, he repaired to London, and was presented to the king, by whom he was graciously received. But he soon after returned again to Berlin, and continued in the service of the king of Prussia.

' ground,

CHAP.

XXI.

A. D.

1757.

‘ ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious
 ‘ artillery. Several of my regiments were re-
 ‘ pulsed by their musquetry. Henry performed
 ‘ wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers :
 ‘ they are too brave.—Fortune turned her back
 ‘ on me that day. I ought to have expected it.
 ‘ She is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact,
 ‘ I ought to have had more infantry.—Success,
 ‘ my dear lord, often occasions a destructive con-
 ‘ fidence. Twenty-four battalions were not suf-
 ‘ ficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an
 ‘ advantageous post. Another time we will do
 ‘ better.—What say you of this league, which
 ‘ has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its
 ‘ object? The great elector would be surprized
 ‘ to see his grandson at war with the Russians,
 ‘ the Austrians, almost all Germany, and an
 ‘ hundred thousand French auxiliaries. I know
 ‘ not whether it will be dishonourable in me to
 ‘ submit; but I am sure that there will be no
 ‘ great glory in vanquishing me.^s’

BESIDES the loss which the king of Prussia
 sustained, in killed and wounded, in the battle of
 Kolin, he also lost great numbers of his men by
 desertion; and was, soon after, obliged to retreat
 towards Saxony. Having sent his heavy artill-
 ery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, he
 fixed his camp on the banks of that river at

^s London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 385. Smollett, p. 139.

Leitmeritz,

Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched; whilst marechal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open, by means of a bridge. Detachments were sent, at the same time, to secure the passes into Saxony.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

THIS position of the king of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe: they, therefore, moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau. On the fourteenth of July, a detachment from the main Austrian army suddenly attacked the important post of Gabel, situated between Boemish-Leypa, and Zittau; and took it after an obstinate defence, of thirty-six hours, made by the Prussian garrison, under major-general Putkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Austrians then proceeded to Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a considerable garrison. The prince of Prussia was also in the neighbourhood with a body of troops; but they were too few in number to enable him to oppose the Austrians. Zittau belonged to the king of Poland as elector of Saxony; but the Austrians, paying no regard to the inhabitants as friends or allies, but being determined to reduce the place, before the king of Prussia could march to its relief,

CHAP.

XXI.

A. D.

1757.

relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison, finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines; leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Dierke, to hold it out as long as possible. This he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. A furious cannonading, which began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, lasted till five in the evening. In that space of time four thousand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into the city, with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion, which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town. The inhabitants then flattered themselves, that they had nothing farther to fear; and that their friends, the Austrians, would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and in saving the place. But their expectations were miserably disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular Austrian troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau. Instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; so that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off, or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred

dred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault [c]. Many others also, who were maimed and wounded, were afterwards dug out of the ruins⁶.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

[c] In one account it is said, 'that the taking of Zittau was attended with many uncommon circumstances of cruelty on one side, and distress on the other.'—'The mothers, wives, and children of the merchants, were killed as they were sitting in their chambers and nurseries, by the bombs that fell through the roofs of the houses. Six hundred and twenty-three dwelling-houses, besides warehouses, were burnt to the ground. The stadthouse also, with all the other public buildings, were destroyed, except the cathedral, which was so much damaged, that it was every moment expected to fall. The number of citizens, of both sexes, that were killed in this assault, amounts to more than four hundred, not reckoning those that were buried under the ruins, or bruised, burnt, and otherwise wounded, by the bursting of bombs, and the falling of houses.' *Gent. Mag.* vol. XXVII. p. 379. Another account says, 'Ninety persons have been dug out of the ruins. Dr. Stroumelius's widow, with her whole family, consisting of fourteen persons, and sixty-four others, were found dead in their houses.' *Lond. Chronicle*, vol. II. p. 190.

⁶ Smollett, p. 164, 165. *Lond. Chron.* vol. II. p. 61, 169.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

As Augustus William, the prince-royal of Prussia, commanded in the neighbourhood of Zittau, he was in some degree a witness to the destruction of the place, and was much affected with the distress of the inhabitants. This place was chiefly destroyed by the Austrians; but the prince is said about this time to have made some strong representations to his brother upon the calamities with which the present war was attended; which gave the king so much offence, that he told the prince, 'That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp.' He quitted the army soon after [D], and retired to Berlin, where he died the following year. He is reported to have much disapproved of the conduct of his brother at the commencement of the war, and to have remonstrated with him upon the subject. Baron Bielfeld speaks highly of the many excellent qualities of this prince; and Dr. Smollett says, that 'none was ever more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues;' that 'he disliked the violent proceedings of the king his brother;' and that 'grief, and concern for the welfare of his bro-

[D] It appears from some letters which passed between the prince and the king his brother, before the former quitted the army, that the king was greatly dissatisfied with the military conduct of the prince; and that the prince thought himself treated by the king with capriciousness and injustice.

'ther,

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

ther, and for the steps taken by him, had no small share in his death⁷.

THE French army, under the command of the prince de Soubise, having passed the Rhine, that general had, early in the campaign, made himself master of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres; whilst a detachment, from the army of marechal d'Etrees, had seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the king of Prussia in East Friesland. In the month of April, the duke of Cumberland was sent over, from England, to command an army of observation, as it was styled, and which was intended for the defence of Hanover. This army consisted of nearly forty thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, together with a few regiments sent by the king of Prussia, but which were chiefly composed of Saxons. With this army the duke of Cumberland attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of marechal d'Etrees; and, after some unsuccessful skirmishes, he was obliged to retire behind the Weser, and the French passed that river without opposition⁸. The duke continued to retreat before marechal d'Etrees, till he reached the village of Hastenbeck. Having chosen an advantageous post, he there attempted to make a stand, on the twenty-fifth of July; but being worsted, after a vigorous resistance, he was obliged to quit his

⁷ Hist. of England, ut supra.

⁸ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 262.

station.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

station. He then retreated to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all his magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover, had been removed.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbittel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and soon after the duke de Chevreuse was detached, with two thousand men, to take possession of the capital of the electorate of Hanover. He accordingly entered that city, and assumed the office of governor of it, on the ninth of August. The Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, but left at liberty to retire where they pleased.

As the French were thus become masters of Hanover, all that the king of Great Britain had dreaded concerning it had now taken place; and it was sufficiently manifest, that his electorate had derived no security from his treaty with the king of Prussia. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had a subsidy from Great Britain, took part also with the Prussian monarch; but almost all the other German princes were united against him.

him. Of the nine electors of Germany, the only one who engaged on the side of the king of Prussia was the elector of Hanover; so little persuaded were the generality of the German princes, that the conduct of the Prussian monarch had any tendency to promote the interests of Germany.

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

C H A P. XXII.

*Progress of the Russian army, under marechal Apraxin.
—Memel taken by the Russians.—Frederick's de-
claration on his dominions being invaded by the
Russians.—Battle of Gross Jagersdorff.—Retreat
of the Russians.—The Swedes invade the Prussian
dominions; but are successfully opposed by general
Lebwald.—Convention of Closter-Seven.—Declara-
tion of the king of Great Britain.*

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

THE Russian army, commanded by marechal Apraxin, which was intended to act against the king of Prussia, having been distressed for want of provisions, and other necessaries, had been more than six months delayed upon its march; but in May the Russian general [E] advanced with his army, in four columns, towards the frontiers of Prussia. Three of these columns passed through Poland, and the fourth through

[E] If an account, which was published of marechal APRAXIN at the time, was in any degree just, this general was not very well adapted for expeditious marches. The account to which I refer is the following: 'The Russian field-marechal Apraxin is so monstrously fat, that he can neither walk on foot, nor ride on horseback; nor, without great difficulty, in a coach; so that he is always carried in a litter, and travels only two leagues a day.' Extract of a private letter from the Hague, published in the London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 72.

Samogitia, towards Memel. The last column was commanded by general Fermor, and intended for the siege of Memel. To facilitate that enterprise, admiral Lewis, an Englishman of reputation in the Russian service, sailed with a considerable fleet from Revel, with about nine thousand men on board, in order to attack Memel on the sea-side, while general Fermor did the same by land. They arrived before Memel at the end of the month of June; and, on the fifth of July, the place surrendered by capitulation*. This conquest was of great consequence to the Russians, as they could make of it a convenient place of arms, and, by means of their fleet, furnish it with provisions and stores sufficient to supply their whole army, and thereby enable them to prosecute the operations of the campaign.

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

BEFORE the taking of Memel, the king of Prussia had ordered general Lehwald, with about thirty thousand men, to march to the frontiers of Prussia, and oppose the progress of the Russians. That general accordingly assembled his army in the month of June, and advanced to Insterburgh, with a corps farther on towards Memel. And when the Prussian monarch found, that the Russians were actually about to invade

* Major-general Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 141.

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

his dominions, he published a declaration, in which were the following passages: ' It is sufficiently known, that the king of Prussia, after the example of his glorious ancestors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim, to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and to cultivate it by every method. His Prussian majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broken it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such an height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances which he hath to allege against it, and that it was publickly known, that the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria.'

' His

' His majesty hath not neglected to expose
 ' the artifices, by which the imperial court of
 ' Russia hath been drawn into measures so oppo-
 ' site to the empress's sentiments, and which
 ' would excite the utmost indignation of that
 ' great princess, if the truth could be placed
 ' before her, without disguise. The king did
 ' more. He suggested to her imperial majesty
 ' sufficient means either to excuse her taking no
 ' part in the present war, or to avoid, upon the
 ' justest grounds, the execution of those engage-
 ' ments, which the court of Vienna claimed by
 ' a manifest abuse of obligations, which they
 ' employed to palliate their unlawful views. It
 ' wholly depended upon the empress of Russia
 ' to extinguish the flames of war, without un-
 ' sheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures
 ' suggested by the king. This conduct would
 ' have immortalized her reign throughout all
 ' Europe. It would have gained her more last-
 ' ing glory than can be acquired by the greatest
 ' triumphs.

CHAP.
 XXII.
 A. D.
 1757.

' THE king finds with regret, that all his pre-
 ' caution and care to maintain peace with the
 ' Russian empire are fruitless, and that the in-
 ' trigues of his enemies have prevailed. His
 ' majesty sees all the considerations of friendship
 ' and good neighbourhood set aside by the im-
 ' perial court of Russia, as well as the observance
 ' of its engagements with his majesty. He sees

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power [F], against the inclination of that power, and contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the king in his own dominions, and thus taking part in a war in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire.

IN such circumstances, the king hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His majesty will never lose sight of the rules, which are observed even in the midst of war amongst civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses, disallowed by the laws of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline, which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer

[F] The territories of Poland are here meant. The Poles were at this time divided into parties, but they seemed in general inclined to remain neuter in the present war. They were but little inclined to embroil themselves with the king of Prussia, in support of their king, when they found that he was incapable of defending his own electoral dominions.

the

‘ the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be
 ‘ treated in the same manner as his own territo-
 ‘ ries shall be treated.’—‘ As his majesty is
 ‘ forced upon making his defence, he has room
 ‘ to hope with confidence, that the Lord of hosts
 ‘ will bless his righteous arms, that he will dis-
 ‘ appoint the unjust enterprizes of his enemies,
 ‘ and grant him his powerful assistance to enable
 ‘ him to make head against them “.’

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1756.

THE whole Russian army, under the command of marechal Apraxin, united in the month of August on the river Rufs, and thence advanced towards the Pregel. General Lehwald, on their approach, quitted his camp at Insterburg, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued, till he received positive orders to hazard a battle, though the Russian army was much more than double in number to that of the Prussians. Having reconnoitred the position of the Russians, who had passed the Pregel, and were encamped at Gross JAGERSDORFF, near NORKITTEN, general Lehwald attacked them on the thirtieth of August, at five o'clock in the morning. The Russians were posted to the greatest advantage, on and behind two almost inaccessible mountains; the passage between which was also secured by a strong column of their regular troops. On the summits of the hills were planted upwards of an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, on batteries

¹⁰ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 406, 407, 408, 409.

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

so disposed, that scarcely a possibility remained of their being successfully attacked in front. The Prussians, however, proceeded in regular order to force their way through the pass between the mountains, whilst a party of light cavalry, on the wings, attempted the eminencies, in order to silence the batteries, which kept continually playing. But in this desperate attempt the Prussian cavalry succeeded so ill, whole ranks being put into confusion, and tumbled down the precipices by the fire of the Russians, that after six successive trials, in which they overpowered but one battery of twelve guns, they were forced to retire with great loss. The prince of Holstein Gottorp, however, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second entrenchment, marechal Lehwald found that the attempt to carry it would be too hazardous. The Russians were much better soldiers than he expected, and stood their ground with a firmness that surprized him. After an obstinate engagement of several hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every possible exertion had been made, he was at length forced to retreat to his former camp, and the Russians remained in their present situation".

" Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 276, 277. Smollett, B. 171.

THE loss of the Prussians in the battle of CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.
GROSS JAGERSDORFF, amounted to three thousand men, killed, wounded, and missing. Among their wounded was lieutenant-general count Dohna. The Russians are said to have had six thousand killed and wounded; and three of their generals were killed [G]. The Prussians, in the course of the action, had made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but they were afterwards obliged to abandon them, together with eleven of their own, for want of carriages.

BEFORE the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, great outrages and acts of cruelty had been committed upon the inhabitants of the country, by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to their army. But, soon after that event, they were very unexpectedly delivered from these unwelcome visitants; though not till they had left in the country marks of the most savage barbarity. After remaining about a fortnight quite inactive in their camp, the Russians

[G] Lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters to his son, dated Sept. 23, 1757, makes the following remarks relative to the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF: 'The late action between the Prussians and Russians has only thinned the human species, without giving either party a victory; which is plain by each party's claiming it. Upon my word, our species will pay very dear for the quarrels and ambition of a few, and those by no means the most valuable part of it. If the many were wiser than they are, the few must be quieter; and would, perhaps, be juster and better than they are.' Let. 96.

suddenly

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

suddenly retreated out of Prussia, with such precipitation, that they left several thousand of their sick and wounded behind them, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Marechal Apraxin concealed his design by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that marechal Lehwald was not informed of it till it was too late to overtake any considerable number of them; though some prisoners were taken by the Prussians. The Russians made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village through which they passed. They at length entirely evacuated the Prussian dominions, excepting Memel, where they left a garrison of ten or twelve thousand men. The cause of this sudden and unexpected retreat is not certainly known; but the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made some new arrangement in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand, to support the measures taken by the government ¹².

BUT to the numerous enemies of the king of Prussia about this time were added the Swedes,

¹² Smollett, p. 172.

who

who now openly took part against him, though the Swedish monarch was married to Frederick's sister. By the Swedish constitution which then subsisted, the power of the king was extremely limited, and the Swedes entered into the war against Prussia contrary to the inclinations of their prince. A plot had been discovered, in 1756, for rendering him despotic [H]; and the Swedish senate, who were extremely hostile to the king of Prussia, probably suspected him of favouring and promoting the design. The Swedes professed, that they entered into the war against the king of Prussia as guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, which had been violated by the invasion of Saxony; and it was apprehended, that, by engaging in the war, they hoped to gain possession of a considerable part of Prussian Pomerania. At the end of the month of August, an army of seventeen thousand Swedes marched against the Prussians, under the command of general Ungern Stornberg. Having passed the river Peen, the Swedes soon took Demmin, Anclam, and the islands of Usedom and Wollin, and then advanced into the Prussian part of Po-

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

[H] Several persons were executed for being concerned in this plot; but afterwards, in 1757, papers were stuck up at the corners of the streets, in different parts of Sweden, in favour of conferring absolute power on the king; and these papers are stated to have originated with what was called the Prussian party in that kingdom,

merania,

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

merania, where they raised contributions without meeting with any obstacle¹³. But after the Russians had retreated out of the Prussian dominions, general Lehwald, with the army under his command, compelled the Swedes to abandon almost all that they had taken, and to retire under the cannon of Stralsund¹⁴.

THE French still continued in possession of the electorate of Hanover; and the duke of Cumberland found himself and his army so hemmed in by them on all sides, that, on the eighth of September, he signed the convention of Closter-Seven; by which an army of thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannick majesty, was dissolved and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, though without being disarmed, or considered as prisoners of war. The French were left, till a peace took place between the two sovereigns, in full possession of the countries they had conquered; but under the express condition of abstaining from future violences, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides¹⁵. This convention appears to have been signed very reluctantly by the duke of Cumberland; but it was effected chiefly by the advice and influence

¹³ Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, p. 147.

¹⁴ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁵ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 278, 279, 280.

of the regency of Hanover [1], who were sensible, that it was much better for their country to continue in a state of neutrality, than to take an active part in the war in favour of the king of Prussia.

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

BEFORE the convention of Closter-Seven was signed, the Prussian monarch was under some apprehensions, that, in the present critical state of his affairs, he should be deserted by his ally, the king of Great Britain. He is said to have written an expostulatory letter to his Britannick majesty upon the subject [κ]; and, a few days after

[1] A letter of considerable length was published at the time in England, said to be written by a member of the regency of Hanover to an English nobleman, in which it was stated, that his Britannick majesty, very properly, was accustomed to pay a just regard to the counsels of his electoral ministers; and that the public administration in Hanover was not of so despotic a nature, as it was apprehended to be in England.

[κ] The letter is said to have been as follows: ‘ I am informed, that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside. Is it possible, that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs in so ruinous a state, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majesty will consider the step that you have made me hazard. That has been the cause of all the misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have renounced the alliance of France, but for your flattering promises. I repent not of the treaty that I have concluded with your majesty; but do not shamefully abandon me to the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers

of

CHAP.
XXII.
A. D.
1757.

after the convention of Closter-Seven, the following declaration was delivered to all the foreign ministers resident at the British court; and which has been considered as an answer to Frederick's expostulation:

' THE king having ordered an account to be
' given him of the representations of M. Michell,
' in relation to some overtures made by his ma-
' jesty's electoral dominions concerning the
' checks received in Germany, hath commanded,
' that answer be given to the king of Prussia's
' minister, That it never was his majesty's in-
' tention, that the said overtures, made without

' of Europe. I expect that your majesty will adhere to your
' engagements, renewed on the 26th past, and that you will
' listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.'

This letter was published by Smollett, Entick, and others; and in the London Chronicle, both in French and English. But in the Gentleman's Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 526,) it is said to have been declared in the Berlin Gazette, that the letter was not authentic. If the letter be genuine, Frederick certainly asserted more in it than could have been properly supported. His treaty with George II. could not have been the cause of all the misfortunes in which he was involved. That treaty, indeed, probably induced him to commence the war earlier than he would otherwise have done; and that treaty seems to have been the sole cause of the alliance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon. But Frederick's difficulties were in reality occasioned by his own ambition; and the king of Great Britain, without foreseeing the consequences, became an instrument, greatly to the prejudice of his own dominions, for promoting the views of the king of Prussia.

' the

' the participation of the British council, should
 ' have the least influence on his majesty's con-
 ' duct as king. His majesty sees, in the same
 ' light as before, the pernicious effects of the
 ' union between the courts of Vienna and Ver-
 ' sailles, which threaten a subversion of the whole
 ' system of public liberty, and of the indepen-
 ' dence of the European powers. He considers,
 ' as a fatal consequence of this dangerous con-
 ' nection, the cession made, by the court of
 ' Vienna, of the ports of the Netherlands to
 ' France, contrary to the faith of the most so-
 ' lemn treaties; and, in such a critical situation,
 ' whatever may be the success of arms, his ma-
 ' jesty is determined to act in constant concert
 ' with the king of Prussia, in employing the most
 ' efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and
 ' oppressive designs of their common enemies;
 ' and the king of Prussia may assure himself, that
 ' the British crown will continue to fulfil, with
 ' the greatest punctuality, its engagements with
 ' his Prussian majesty, and to support him with
 ' firmness and vigour.

CHAP.
 XXII.
 A. D.
 1757.

• Whitehall, Sept. 16, 1757.

• HOLDERNESSE ¹⁸.

¹⁸ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 417.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIII.

The king of Prussia enters Lusatia, and encamps at Bautzen.—He is joined by marechal Keith.—Removes his head-quarters to Bernstedtel, and afterwards repeatedly offers battle to the Austrian army; but his offer is declined.—A detachment of Austrians march to Berlin, and levy contributions on the inhabitants.—Rigorous exactions by the king of Prussia on the inhabitants of Saxony.—The city of Leipzig invested by the combined army of the empire, and of France.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

THE king of Prussia, in a short time after the battle of Kolin, finding it necessary to evacuate Bohemia, quitted his camp at Leitmeritz on the twentieth of July, and proceeded successively to Sulowitz, Lusechitz, Nellendorf, and Cotta. On the twenty-sixth of that month he arrived at Pirna, near Dresden, where he halted the next day. On the twenty-eighth, he crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, on the following day, he encamped at Bautzen. In the mean time, marechal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harrassed in his march by the Austrian irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage.

Having

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

Having rested a day at Pirna, the marechal pursued his march through Dresden, with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Prussian army, which was now here assembled, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Deffau; to cover Dresden, secure the passes of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, some of which were very bloody ¹⁷.

THE main army of the Austrians, having secured their communications with Bohemia, by making themselves masters of Zittau and Gabel, now resolved to advance farther into Lusatia, and to endeavour to cut off the king of Prussia entirely from Silesia. Accordingly the Austrian army marched from Zittau to Eckartsberg, from whence several detachments were sent on the left, to observe the motions of the Prussians; and on the right, down the Neifs, in order to secure the passes into Silesia. A small body of light

¹⁷ Smollett, ut supra, p. 163, 164, 166.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

Austrian troops, commanded by colonel Jahnus, had already penetrated into that country by the way of Trautenau¹⁸. But as Frederick, after his junction with marechal Keith, had a considerable army assembled at Bautzen, he resolved to open the communication with Silesia, and to endeavour to bring the Austrians to an action. Having remained for some time encamped between Bautzen and Gorlitz, he removed his headquarters to Bernstädtel. At that place his vanguard took the baggage of the Austrian general Beck; and some of his light troops pushing on towards Ostritz, where they arrived about noon, they surprized count Nadaſti at table. That general had just time to get upon his horse, by the swiftness of which he escaped; but all his field-equipage, his waggons, most of his horses, his attendants, and seventy-two other prisoners, fell into the hands of the Prussian hussars¹⁹.

THE army of the king of Prussia came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon shot of it, on the fifteenth of August: upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. Frederick formed his army over-against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between

¹⁸ Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, p. 84, 85.

¹⁹ Letter from a Prussian officer, published in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 238.

the armies: but it being then late, he deferred a more exact examination of it till the next day.

The two armies continued under arms all night.

Next morning, at break of day, the king found the Austrians in a very advantageous camp, covered by narrow defiles and marshes, having the Neisse on the right, and on the left a high hill defended by three batteries, one above another; a deep defile before their line, and their rear supported by hills. The king hoped to have brought the Austrians to descend into the open plain, and he left nothing undone to bring them to a battle. But as they were so advantageously posted, and appeared determined to avoid an action, after continuing four days before them, he returned with his army to his camp at Bernstædtel. The Austrian army, which thus declined an engagement, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thousand strong; which was more than double in number to that of the king of Prussia; who, the day he returned to Bernstædtel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour. But not a man stirred from the Austrian camp²⁰.

THOUGH Frederick had not been able to bring the Austrians to a battle, he had sent general

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

²⁰ Smollett, ut supra, p. 172, 173.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

Grumkow with a body of troops to Gorlitz, of which they took possession, and thereby opened a communication with Silesia, which was one great object that he had in view, that his forces might be able to act in concert, if not united²¹. In the mean time, the army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French, under the prince de Soubise, amounting together to more than fifty thousand men, had now joined, and entered into Saxony. On receiving this information, Frederick immediately set out from Lusatia, accompanied by marechal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp, under the prince of Bevern.

AFTER the king of Prussia had quitted his camp at Bernstædtel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeld's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neisse, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Gorlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of

²¹ Lloyd, p. 86.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

the eminence. The loss in this action was considerable on both sides; and the loss of the Prussians was augmented by the death of their brave general Winterfeldt, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following²².

FROM Dresden the king of Prussia had proceeded towards Leipzig, his army marching through the great post roads near that city, and from thence to Naumbourg. On the road between Naumbourg and Erfurth, he received information of the hostile entrance of the Swedes into his dominions, and of the death of general Winterfeldt. He seemed much affected with the loss of that general, who was an officer of very distinguished merit, and of great bravery, and for whom he had a great esteem. 'I may find resources,' said the king, 'against the multitude of my enemies; but how few men are to be found equal to Winterfeldt!'

FREDERICK arrived at Erfurth on the thirteenth of September. Of his entrance into that city, the following account was written from thence two days after: 'The king of Prussia's entry into this city had all the appearance of a public entry. A squadron of Czekeli's hussars marched before the king, who was on horseback, accom-

²² Smollett, p. 175.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

panied by prince Henry, and several generals ;
after which came Rothenburgh's regiment of
dragoons, and the march was closed by two
squadrons of hussars. The populace equally
admired his Prussian majesty's martial air and
affable countenance ; but what astonished us
most was, to see his troops in so good a condi-
tion, after the forced marches they had just
made.' Two days after the king's arrival at
Erfurth, he went to Gotha, where he dined [L],
and

[L] Of Frederick's arrival at Gotha, the following ac-
count appeared in publications of the times : ' From Erfurth
his majesty proceeded to Gotha, from whence the Impe-
rialists and French retired before him, after having dis-
mounted the cannon, and broken the carriages. On the
15th, the Austrian and other general officers had agreed to
dine at court, with the duke of Saxe-Gotha ; but they were
disappointed ; for about noon the first division of Prussian
troops appeared, at about three miles distance. The Austrian
picquet guards retired, at the approach of a regiment of
Prussian hussars, who came on full gallop ; and about half an
hour after two the king himself, attended only by prince
Henry, and two regiments, one of hussars and the other of
dragoons, came up to the city gates, and sent word by a
gentleman, that he was come to dine with the duke. He
was instantly admitted, and took the place at table where
the Austrian generals were to have been seated, insisting
that madame de Buchwald should dine with him, and enter-
taining the company with much discourse, and great cheer-
fulness.'

A few days after a rencounter happened near Gotha, be-
tween general Seidlitz, who had twelve hundred Prussian horse

under

and staid all night, and returned the next day to his camp. Three days after an Austrian courier was

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.

1757.

under his command, and a considerable part of the combined army, of which the following account was given : ' The combined army was assembled near Eisenach, and intrenched in the defiles of the mountains, to wait the attack of the Prussians, who still continued near Erfurth. But, in the mean time, the commanders came to a resolution of making an attempt to carry off Seidlitz's party, which was at Gotha, and consisted of about twelve hundred men. For this purpose they marched all night, with almost all their cavalry, and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, amounting in the whole to between seven and eight thousand men, and arrived about eight in the morning. But Seidlitz, though surprized, made a good retreat, not losing twenty men. The princes Hildburghausen and Soubise, and all the French generals, came to court (at Gotha) at eleven o'clock. The infantry possessed themselves of the town, and it was expected that they would have remained there. But Seidlitz, perceiving a fog to arise, determined to improve it. He, therefore, retired behind the hills, about a league off, towards Erfurth, where he caused one hundred dragoons to dismount, to represent infantry ; and divided the rest of the troops into twenty-two small bodies, which extended themselves very far ; and, by the favour of the fog, appeared like so many squadrons. At one in the afternoon, he attacked the French with his hussars only ; and news was immediately carried to the French generals, that the whole Prussian army was advancing ; that they lay behind the hills, and that they were extending towards the left, in order to surround them ; whereupon they made all possible haste to retreat ; and, after having marched all night, were obliged to return the way they came, without having any refreshment ; so that in two hours time there was not a Frenchman left. M,

D 4

Seidlitz

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

was taken, who was carrying a major-general's commission to colonel Laudohn, an Austrian officer of great merit. Frederick immediately sent a trumpet with the commission to the colonel, and his compliments to him on his promotion.

On the approach of the king of Prussia to Erfurth, the combined army of the empire, and of the French under the prince de Soubise, which was assembled in the neighbourhood of that city, retired from thence, and retreated as far as the hills of Eifenach. Frederick followed them, with a view to give them battle; but he found them so advantageously posted, that it was not advisable to attack them. As the combined army declined coming to an action, the king resolved to fall back on the Saala, as well to procure subsistence for his army with the more ease, as to be at hand to sustain a detachment, which he proposed sending under prince Ferdinand, to cover Halberstadt and the neighbouring country, against the incursions of the light troops of the French. For after the convention of Closter-Seven, the French army, which had been under the command of the marechal d'Etrees, but

Seidlitz pursued them, made forty prisoners, killed about the same number, took a great deal of baggage, and was very near taking several general officers, who had staid too long in the town. This action, though of no great consequence in itself, does great honour to the general. Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 123, 124.

which

which was now commanded by the duke de Richelieu, was at liberty to act against the king of Prussia. The French troops, therefore, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, and raised contributions upon the inhabitants. A detachment was also sent by Frederick, to be stationed between the Moldau and the Elbe, to cover that part of Saxony and Brandenburg. And as the king could not bring the combined army to an action, he retired first to Butteltstadt, and from thence to Naumbourg, where he arrived on the thirteenth of October²³.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, observing that the Prussian forces were separated at a great distance, and that the road into Brandenburg was open, resolved to send a considerable detachment to Berlin; and, to cover this expedition, another large body of troops, under general Marschal, was sent upon the Elster²⁴. It was general Haddick, who, with eight thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburg; and, on the sixteenth of October, arrived at Berlin. He demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians also pillaged part of the suburbs, but afterwards retreated with some precipitation, on receiving information of the approach of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau.

²³ Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, p. 92.

²⁴ Id. *ibid*.

That

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

That general arrived at Berlin, with a large body of Prussian troops, the day after the Austrians had quitted it. The queen and royal family of Prussia had previously removed to Magdeburgh; and the most valuable records were sent to the fortress of Spandau,

ABOUT the same time, as well as in other parts of the present year, heavy exactions were imposed by the king of Prussia on the people of Saxony, and particularly on the inhabitants of Dresden [M] and Leipzig [N]. In the latter city the

[M] Of some of the king of Prussia's exactions at Dresden, this year, the following accounts appeared in the publications of the time:

' DRESDEN, Sept. 7. The king of Prussia, before he left our neighbourhood, demanded from this city an extraordinary contribution, to defray the expences of PROTECTING AND DEFENDING SAXONY.'

' The circle of Misnia hath received orders to lay up an immense quantity of forage and grain, for the subsistence of the Prussian troops, during the ensuing winter.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 278.

' DRESDEN, Oct. 12. M. de Rezow, intendant-general of the Prussian army, has, in his majesty's name, required the deputies of the states, and nobility and gentry of this electorate, to pay, in eight days, the sum of 600,000 crowns, demanded of them by way of free gift, on pain of military execution, in all places where the Prussians are quartered.' Ibid. p. 397.

[N] The following accounts were published at the time, relative to some of the impositions on the inhabitants of Leipzig:

' LEIPZIG,

the Prussian commandant had demanded, by order of the king his master, three hundred thousand crowns. The inhabitants in vain repre-

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

LEIPSIC, Oct. 11. Yesterday those families who could not furnish their quota of the 300,000 crowns, lately demanded of this city by the king of Prussia, were subjected to a rigorous military execution. Officers followed by subalterns, drummers, and foldiers, dispersed themselves in their houses, took possession of the best apartments, called for victuals and drink, and took what they liked. In short, they live at discretion. This is not all. A demand is just now made of 200 recruits, or an hundred crowns for each man that shall be wanting to complete that number. M. Joecher, one of the professors of our university, a venerable old man, is taken up, and sent prisoner to the castle. By what means he hath incurred the displeasure of the Prussians, we are wholly ignorant. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 397.

LEIPSIC, Oct. 26. NAUMBURG, where the king of Prussia has fixed his head-quarters, has been taxed at 100,000 crowns; and being unable to raise that sum, the Prussians carried away with them hostages for the security of the payment thereof.

When the king of Prussia mitigated the contribution demanded of this city, (Leipsic) it was expected, that the hostages sent to Magdeburgh would be released; and our merchants refused to draw bills, as they have promised on London and Amsterdam, till orders should be given for that purpose. But they have been told, that the hostages will not be released, till advice be received that the bills are accepted. We also expected, that the military execution would cease. But major-general Haussen, the governor, has continued it in several houses in the city and suburbs. In some there are thirty soldiers, and in some in the suburbs sixty, besides servants and horses. Ibid. p. 442.

sent,

CHAP.

XXIII.

A. D.

1757.

fented, that this was a far greater sum than it was then in their power to raise. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would himself be soon there. He accordingly arrived shortly after, attended by his life-guards. A rumour was at the same time spread, that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, were in that respect abated, by a declaration which was made by Frederick, that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns; and hostages were given, by way of security for the payment of thirty thousand more, within a stipulated time²⁵. But, after

²⁵ Smollett, p. 177, 178. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417, 442.

this, other hardships still continued to be imposed upon the inhabitants [o]; and it appears, that even the account-books of the merchants were seized, and detained for some time, in order to ascertain their property and credit.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

As Frederick at this period underwent great fatigue, both of body and of mind, it is said to have made a considerable alteration in his appearance. This was particularly noticed in a letter written and printed about this time, in which were the following passages: ‘Many persons, who saw the king of Prussia, when he passed lately through Leipzig, cannot express how much he is altered. They say he is so much worn away, that they scarcely knew him. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at. He has not a body of iron, like Charles XII. and he endures as great fatigues as he did. He is as much on horseback as Charles was, and often lies upon the ground.’—‘Add likewise some domestic uneasinesses. The death of the

[o] In an account from Leipzig, dated the day after the king’s arrival there, is the following passage: ‘Though the military execution has ceased, we are not delivered from our other calamities. A new one is just come upon us, by the arrival of a large body of troops. Some houses have from thirty to sixty men quartered upon them, for whom they must find provisions, fuel, and two grosches per diem.’ Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417.

queen-

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

‘ queen-mother gave him infinite concern [P],
‘ and at present there is a difference between
‘ him and the prince of Prussia, which cannot
‘ be agreeable. They did not see one another
‘ when the king was lately at Leipzig ²⁶.’

AFTER the king of Prussia quitted Leipzig, he committed the defence of that city to marechal Keith, with a garrison of seven or eight thousand men. But before this some detachments of Austrian troops had approached towards Dresden [Q], and appeared disposed to attack that city.

[P] His mother, the queen-dowager, died on the 28th of June, 1757, at the palace of Monbijou, in the seventy-first year of her age. The prince of Prussia died at Orangebourg, on the 12th of June, 1758, aged thirty-six.

²⁶ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 20, 21. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 456.

[Q] The approach of the Austrians towards Dresden at this period, occasioned much distress to the inhabitants, as appears from the following account, published at the time:
‘ DRESDEN, Sept. 14, 1757. Major-general Schmettau and
‘ colonel Finck are very assiduous in putting this place into
‘ good posture of defence. Cannon have been placed on the
‘ terraces of count Bruhl’s gardens, which adjoin to the ramparts,
‘ parts, in order to hinder any rafts or barges from coming
‘ down the river. With the same view a large boom is laid
‘ across it. The walls of all the gardens without the New
‘ Town have been thrown down, and those who had country
‘ houses there have been desired to remove their most valuable
‘ effects, because the houses are to be razed, that they may
‘ not serve to cover the Austrians in case of a siege. The
‘ troops in garrison here amount to more than 10,000 men,
‘ by the great number of sick and wounded soldiers that are

city. They did not, however, make any regular attempt upon it; but the combined army of the empire, and of France, completely invested Leipzig [R]; and sent a summons to marechal Keith

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

' now able to do duty. A great number, both of the garrison, and of the inhabitants, are, however, ill of fevers, pleurisies, and dysenteries, which for a month past have been very rife and very fatal. That the sick belonging to the garrison may be better accommodated, three hundred of them have been removed to the spacious apartments in count Bruhl's palace, which is at present unoccupied.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 301.

[R] Of the damage which was done to the city of Leipzig at this period, and the hardships suffered by the inhabitants, some idea may be formed from the following account, published at the time: ' LEIPSIK, Oct. 26, 1757. Marechal Keith, who has been to reconnoitre the situation of the combined army, has been busy these three days past, in preparing to defend this city till the last extremity. Some of the gates are to be walled up, and deep ditches are dug at proper distances without the walls, in order to render the ground impracticable for the encampment of the enemy's troops. Dispositions of the like nature are making in all the avenues of this city. The fine gardens round the town, which rivalled those of Holland, are sacrificed on this occasion. All is destroyed, pulled down, or overturned; and the fruit of many years expence and culture ruined in a moment. The price of provisions, particularly bread, which was high before, is risen. Every thing is dear in proportion.'—' The provisions that have been laid up, for some months past, are visibly diminished by the prodigious consumption made by a numerous garrison, as well as by the inhabitants; though indeed the latter are considerably lessened, many having retired to other places. The houses in which the troops are quartered,

CHAP.
XXI.
A. D.
1757.

Keith to surrender the city. The marshal replied, 'That his Prussian majesty having charged him to defend the city to the last extremity, he should obey his orders.' He also sent for the principal magistrates of Leipzig, and addressed them in the following terms: 'I sent for you, gentlemen, to inform you, that the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen has sent me a summons to deliver up the city to him; to which I am not at all disposed. He threatens, in case of refusal, to come to extremities. He will then set me an example to act in the same manner; and to him you must impute all the calamities to which your city will be exposed. If you would prevent them, I would advise you to go to him, and engage him to spare the city, out of regard to you and the inhabitants; because on the first advice I receive, that the troops of the empire and of France are advancing to attack me, I shall begin to set fire to the suburbs; and if that be not sufficient to oblige the enemy to desist from their enterprise, I will go farther, and not spare even the city itself. I shall be extremely sorry to proceed to that length. Necessity alone can force me to it.'

'quartered, and none are exempted from that burden, are full to the garrets; and the troops occupy the best apartments, those to the streets, that the officers and soldiers may the more readily receive their orders.' Lond. Chron. vol. II.

CHAP.
XXIII.
A. D.
1757.

IN consequence of this declaration of marechal Keith, a deputation of the magistrates of Leipfic was sent to the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; who told them, ' That he would spare the electorate of Saxony as much as he possibly could, ' and particularly the city of Leipfic, and that ' he would not bombard it. But that he nevertheless hoped, to force the Prussian garrison to ' abandon it, or to surrender themselves prisoners of war.' It was said, that the prince also declared, that if the Prussians executed their threat of burning the suburbs, or the city of Leipfic, he would take revenge on the towns of Brandenburg, and that Berlin or Potsdam should pay for Leipfic:

C H A P. XXIV.

Critical state of the affairs of the king of Prussia at the present period.—He is reconciled to Voltaire, and continues to correspond with him.—Obtains a signal victory over the combined army of the empire, and of France, at Rosbach.—The Hanoverians resume their arms, notwithstanding the convention of Closter-Seven.—Battle of Breslau.—Battle of Lissa.—End of the campaign of 1757.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

THE affairs of the king of Prussia were at this period in a situation extremely critical. The Russians were yet in possession of Memel; and the Austrians had even entered his capital, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Besides what he had farther to apprehend from the Russians and the Swedes, the French army, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, which consisted of eighty battalions, and one hundred squadrons, had entered Halberstadt, and levied contributions on his subjects in that province. The combined army of the empire, and of France, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and the prince de Soubise, were in Saxony, and but at a small distance from his own dominions. A great army of Austrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorraine, assisted by marechal Daun and general Na-

dasti,

dasli, had entered Silesia, in spite of the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that province. Surrounded by so many enemies, Voltaire tells us, that the king had formed a design to kill himself²⁷; and he has given part of a poetical epistle, written by Frederick about this time to the marquis D'Argens, in which he intimated such a design [s].

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

NOT-

²⁷ Memoires de Voltaire, p. 156.

[s] In this epistle the king expresses himself as a materialist, speaks with approbation of the system of Epicurus, and declares his disbelief of the doctrine of a future state. Similar sentiments are avowed in some of his other pieces; and particularly in his *Epistle to marechal Keith*, written in imitation of the third book of Lucretius, *sur les vaines terreurs de la mort, et les frayeurs d'une autre vie*, published in the first volume of the *OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI*, p. 221—232. In this poem, which is one of the king's longest pieces, and the great design of which is to prove, that man is a being wholly material, and that his existence terminates with his death, are the following lines;

De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le passé :
Comme avant que je fusse il n'avait point pensé,
De même après ma mort, quand toutes mes parties
Par la corruption seront anéanties,
Par un même destin il ne pensera plus :
Non, rien n'est plus certain, soyons-en convaincus,
Dès que nous finissons, notre ame est éclipsee.

It was to this epistle to marechal Keith, and to the zeal which the king of Prussia manifested, in opposing the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of a future state of retribution, that Mr. Mason particularly refers in the following lines, in his elegant elegy on the death of lady Coventry :

F 2

Think

CHAP.

XXIV.

A. D.

1757.

NOTWITHSTANDING the manner in which a separation had taken place between Frederick and Voltaire, they were afterwards, at least apparently,

- ‘ Think not the Muse; whose sober voice ye hear,
- ‘ Contracts with bigot frown her sullen brow;
- ‘ Casts round Religion’s orb the mists of fear,
- ‘ Or shades with horrors, what with smiles should glow.
- ‘ No; she would warm you with seraphic fire,
- ‘ Heirs as ye are of heaven’s eternal day;
- ‘ Would bid you boldly to that heav’n aspire,
- ‘ Not sink and slumber in your cells of clay.
- ‘ Know, ye were form’d to range yon azure field,
- ‘ In yon æthereal founts of bliss to lave;
- ‘ Force then, secure in Faith’s protecting shield,
- ‘ The sting from death, the vict’ry from the grave.
- ‘ Is this the bigot’s rant? Away, ye vain,
- ‘ Your hopes, your fears, in doubt, in dulness steep:
- ‘ Go soothe your souls in sickness, grief, or pain,
- ‘ With the sad solace of eternal sleep.
- ‘ Yet will I praise you, triflers as ye are,
- ‘ More than those preachers of your fav’rite creed,
- ‘ Who proudly swell the brazen throat of war,
- ‘ Who form the phalanx, bid the battle bleed;
- ‘ Nor wish for more: who conquer, but to die.
- ‘ Hear, Folly, hear; and triumph in the tale;
- ‘ Like you, they reason; not, like you, enjoy
- ‘ The breeze of bliss, that fills your silken sail.
- ‘ On pleasure’s glitt’ring stream ye gayly steer
- ‘ Your little course to cold oblivion’s shore:
- ‘ They dare the storm, and, through th’ inclement year,
- ‘ Stem the rough surge, and brave the torrent’s roar.

rently, in a great degree reconciled; and this seems to have been chiefly effected by the mediation

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

- ' Is it for glory? that just Fate denies.
- ' Long must the warrior moulder in his shroud,
- ' Ere from her trump the heav'n-breath'd accents rise,
- ' That lift the Hero from the fighting crowd,
- ' Is it his grasp of empire to extend?
- ' To curb the fury of insulting foes?
- ' Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:
- ' 'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose,
- ' And why must murder'd myriads lose their all,
- ' (If life be all) why desolation lour,
- ' With famish'd frown, on this affrighted ball,
- ' That thou may'st flame the meteor of an hour?
- ' Go, wiser ye, that flutter life away,
- ' Crown with the mantling juice the goblet high;
- ' Weave the light dance, with festive freedom gay,
- ' And live your moment, since the next ye die.
- ' Yet know, vain Sceptics, know, th' Almighty mind,
- ' Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
- ' Bade his free soul, by earth nor time confin'd,
- ' To heav'n, to immortality aspire.
- ' Nor shall the pile of hope, his mercy rear'd,
- ' By vain philosophy be e'er destroy'd.'—

The ideas of the king of Prussia, concerning the immortality of the soul, appear to have been different at different periods of his life. In a letter written by him to M. Suhm, dated June 6, 1736, is the following passage: ' The thought alone of your death, my dear Suhm, affords to me an argument in proof of the immortality of the soul. For is it possible, that the being by which you are actuated; the spirit which acts in you with so much clearness, brightness,

CHAP.

XXIV.

A. D.

1757.

ation of the margravine of Bareith, the king's
sister, who appears to have been a very amiable
and

‘ and intelligence; which is so different from matter and from
‘ body; that fine soul, endowed with so many solid virtues,
‘ and agreeable qualities; that noble part of yourself which
‘ renders you the delight of our society; is it possible, that
‘ this should not be immortal? No, certainly! I would main-
‘ tain it, even in a solemn argument, if it were necessary, that
‘ if the greatest part of the world were perishable, and to be
‘ annihilated, you, VOLTAIRE, BOILEAU, NEWTON, WOL-
‘ FIUS, and some other geniusses of this order, must be im-
‘ mortal.’ *Correspondance familiere et amicale*, tome I. p. 31.

In three of Voltaire's letters to the king, after their cor-
respondence was renewed, he strongly dissuaded him from any
attempt against his own life, in case he should meet with
any adverse turn in his affairs. In a letter written in October,
1757, Voltaire says, ‘ Cato and Otho, whose deaths your
‘ majesty so much approves, had scarcely any choice, except
‘ of servitude or of death. Otho even was not certain he
‘ might be suffered to live. He did but, by voluntary death,
‘ prevent that which might have been inflicted. Our man-
‘ ners, and your situation, are far from requiring you should
‘ take any such resolution. In a word, it is highly necessary
‘ you should live. You cannot but know how dear your life
‘ is to a numerous family, and to all who have the honour to
‘ approach you. The affairs of Europe, you are convinced,
‘ never can long remain in the same state; and that it is the
‘ duty of a man like you to wait the course of events.

‘ I will be bold enough to say more. Believe me, were
‘ your courage to induce you heroically to end your existence,
‘ the act would not be applauded. Your very partizans
‘ would condemn you, and your enemies would triumph.
‘ Remember too what the outrages would be, which the
‘ fanatic nation of bigots would commit on your memory.

‘ Such

and accomplished princess, and who was a great admirer of Voltaire, and frequently corresponded with him. In 1755, Frederick sent to Voltaire an opera, which he had made from that writer's tragedy of *Merope*; and this opera, Voltaire says, was, without doubt, the worst thing that the king ever wrote²⁸. From that time they continued again to correspond together [T]; and Frede-

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

‘Such would be all the renown you would acquire by voluntary death. You ought not to afford those cowardly enemies of the human race the pleasure of insulting a name so respectable.’ *Posthumous Works of Frederick II.* vol. VII, p. 413, 414.

In another letter, written in the same month, he urges arguments to the same purpose; and in a letter dated Nov. 13, in the same year, Voltaire says, ‘I will allow, that a momentary existence in scenes of affliction, and between two eternities which engulph us, is a mere trifle: but to bear the burthen of life is well worthy of your great fortitude; and to support adversity like a hero is to be truly a king.’ *Ibid.* p. 415, 422.

²⁸ *Memoires de Voltaire*, p. 145, 146.

[T] It appears, that, after the renewal of their correspondence, Voltaire sometimes took liberties with Frederick with which he was offended. In a letter, dated June 10, 1759, the king says, ‘Are you in your senses? It is time, at the age of seventy, that you should learn the style in which it becomes you to write to me. It is time you should comprehend, that though there are liberties in which men of letters and of wit are indulged, there are also intolerable impertinencies. Be at length a philosopher; that is to say rational. May heaven, which has endowed you with so much wit, endow you with an equal portion of judgment!’

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

Frederick sent to Voltaire a poetical epistle, dated Aug. 9, 1757, in which are the following lines:

Croyez

‘ Should that ever happen, you would be the first man of the age, and perhaps the first the world ever saw.’ Posthumous Works, vol. VII. p. 473, 474.

In another letter, dated July 18, 1759, Frederick says, ‘ I well know that I idolized you, while I neither supposed you artful nor malignant; but you have played me tricks of so many kinds—Let us drop the subject. I have pardoned you all, with a Christian heart. You certainly have done me more good than harm. Your works give me the more pleasure, because I am callous to your scratches. Had you no defects, you would too much humble the human race; and the whole world would with reason be jealous, and envious of your advantages.’ Ibid. p. 485.

In a letter of Voltaire to the king, dated April 21, 1760, is the following passage: ‘ You have done me harm enough. You have for ever embroiled me with the king of France. You have occasioned the loss of my places and pensions. You have ill treated me at Franckfort; and, with me, an innocent woman, a respectable woman, who was dragged through the streets, and thrown into prison: and now, while honouring me with your letters, you poison the sweetness of this consolation by the bitterness of reproach. Is it possible that you should treat me thus! I who have three years successively, though ineffectually, been endeavouring to serve you, from no other motive but that of acting in conformity to my feelings.

‘ The greatest mischief, which your works have done, is the slander to which they have given birth, among the numerous enemies of philosophy in Europe. “ Philosophers,” say they, “ can neither live in peace, nor live together. Here have we a king who does not believe in

“ Jesus

*Croyez que si j'étois, VOLTAIRE,
 Particulier aujourd'hui
 Me contentant du nécessaire,
 Je verrois envoler la Fortune légère,
 Et m' en mocquerois comme lui.—
 Mais notre état nous fait loi,
 Il nous oblige, il nous engage
 A mesurer notre courage,
 Sur ce qu' exige notre emploi.
 VOLTAIRE dans sons hermitage,
 Dans un pays dont l'heritage
 Est son antique bonne foi,
 Peut s' addonner en paix à la vertu du sage
 Dont Platon nous marque la loi.
 Pour moi menacé du naufrage,
 Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,
 Penser, vivre, et mourir en Roi.*

CHAR.
 XXIV.
 A. D.
 1757.

' VOLTAIRE, believe me, were I now
 ' In private life's calm station plac'd,
 ' Let Heaven for nature's wants allow,
 ' With cold indifference would I view
 ' Changing Fortune's winged haste,
 ' And laugh at her caprice, like you.—
 ' But from our stations we derive
 ' Unerring précepts how to live,

" Jesus Christ: he invites another unbeliever to his court,
 " whom he ill treats. There is no charity among these pre-
 " tended philosophers; and God makes them the instrument
 " of each other's punishment." Ibid. p. 509, 510.

' And

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

- ‘ And certain deeds each rank calls forth,
 ‘ By which is measur’d human worth.
 ‘ VOLTAIRE, within his private cell
 ‘ In realms where antient honesty
 ‘ Is patrimonial property,
 ‘ And sacred Freedom loves to dwell,
 ‘ May give up all *his* peaceful mind,
 ‘ Guided by Plato’s deathless page,
 ‘ In silent solitude resign’d
 ‘ To the mild virtues of a Sage;
 ‘ But I, ’gainst whom wild whirlwinds wage
 ‘ Fierce war with wreck-denouncing wing,
 ‘ Must be, to face the tempest’s rage,
 ‘ In thought, in life, in death a king [v].’

BUT it is necessary, that I should quit Frederick’s poetry, and return to his military transactions. The poetry, which he composed at this period, affords, however, sufficient evidence, that he possessed great tranquility of mind, in situations of extreme danger and difficulty, and that even the tumults of war could not wholly withdraw his attention from the pursuits of literature [x].

THE

[v] The whole of the above poetical epistle is published, in the original French, in Dodsley’s Collection of Poems, vol. VI. p. 281, 282. edit. 1763, together with an English translation by John Gilbert Cooper, Esq.

[x] The Abbe Denina observes, that ‘ During the war, Frederick had no other amusements than those of reading
 ‘ and

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

THE king of Prussia now thought, that the present state of his affairs rendered it indispensably necessary, that he should endeavour, at all events, to bring to an action the combined army of the empire, and of France. With this view he assembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Leipzig. On the thirty-first of October, the Prussian army began their march, in order to attack the enemy in their quarters. But, on the first of November, having received advice, that the French and Imperialists were retiring on all sides, Frederick marched with the vanguard of his army to Weissenfels. That city, which was defended by Bavarians, and troops of the circles, was immediately attacked and forced. The Prussians made three hundred prisoners; but the enemy, to cover their retreat, burnt the bridge on the Saala. It then became manifest, that the combined army intended to dispute with the Prussians the passage of that river. The troops of the empire encamped on the opposite side of it, over-against Weissenfels; and posted themselves behind enclosures of vineyards, and in

‘and of study.’ He should have added, music. He also says, that the king read, even in the field, the works of Bossuet, of Bourdaloue, and of Massillon; that he imitated their different styles, and even composed funeral and other sermons. He adds, that he wrote a sermon on the general judgment, because, though he did not believe the doctrine, he thought it a fine subject.’ *Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederick II.* p. 232.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

huts, in order to hinder the Prussians from repairing the bridge that had been burnt down. They drew a line along the left bank of the river; and marechal Keith, who advanced with the main body of the Prussian army to Mersebourg, found that fourteen French battalions had burnt the bridge at that place, and taken possession of the town, at the same time that a French detachment burnt the bridge on the Saala, near Halle. Marechal Keith marched with a detachment to Halle, and repaired the bridge there; which forced the combined troops to evacuate all the posts they had on that river, and to retire to Michele. The Prussians soon repaired the bridges, and crossed the river at Halle, Mersebourg, and Weissenfels. The three columns of the Prussian army joined the same day at the village of ROSBACH²⁹. The French and Imperialists, who had abandoned the design of defending the banks of the Saala, quitted Mersebourg, and encamped in the neighbourhood.

THE combined army, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hilburghausen, and the prince de Soubise, amounted to more than fifty thousand men. The army of the king of Prussia did not exceed twenty-two thousand. On his arrival at ROSBACH, on the third of November, he went to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy; and

²⁹ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 452, 453.

finding that it might be attacked on the right, he determined to commence an action the next day. Accordingly he made preparations for that purpose early in the morning; but when the Prussian cavalry arrived at the eminences, from whence the enemy had been reconnoitred the day before, it was found that they had changed the position of their camp. It not only faced the Prussian army, but was covered in front by a large hollow way. Its right was upon an eminence in a wood, fortified with three redoubts, and barricades of trees. As the combined troops were thus posted, the king of Prussia thought proper to defer the attack; his infantry encamped; and his cavalry also retired into the camp. The enemy, finding that they were not going to be attacked, sent out of their camp some detachments, and made some discharges of cannon upon the Prussian horse, but with little effect.

THE commanders of the combined army now imagined, that the Prussian monarch supposed his own troops to be too much inferior in number to theirs, to render it prudent for him to hazard an action. Elated with this idea, they resolved to attack him the next morning, and thereby finish the campaign; the fatigues of which their troops appeared to be no longer either able or willing to endure³⁰. Accordingly

³⁰ Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 95.

CHAP. about nine in the morning, on the fifth of No-
 XXIV. vember, the Prussians received intelligence, that
 A. D. the enemy were every where in motion. They
 1757. likewise heard the drums beating the march;
 and, as the two armies were near to each other,
 they plainly perceived from their camp, that the
 Austrian and Imperial infantry, which had drawn
 nearer upon the rising grounds over-against
 them, was filing off towards their right. The
 king, however, could not yet form any certain
 judgment of their real design; and he observed,
 that their several motions were contradictory to
 each other. At the same time that some of their
 infantry were filing off towards their right, a
 large body of cavalry wheeled round towards the
 left, directing its march all along to the rising
 grounds that surrounded the whole Prussian camp,
 and which lay in a bottom between the villages
 of Bederow and ROSBACH. Their cavalry were
 soon after seen to halt, and afterwards to fall
 back to the right; though some of them still re-
 mained where they were, whilst the rest marched
 back³¹. About two in the afternoon, the doubts
 of the king of Prussia were cleared up. It then
 appeared, that the combined army intended to
 attack him, and that their dispositions were made
 with a view to surround the Prussian troops, and
 to open the action by attacking them in the rear.

³¹ Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the Lond. Gazette.

A body of reserve was posted over against Bede-row, to fall upon the routed Prussian troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Mersebourg, the only retreat which would then have been left them.

CHAP.
XXIV.]
A. D.
1757.

As Frederick now understood what were the intentions of the generals of the combined army, he resolved to anticipate them, and immediately took the necessary steps for proceeding to an action. But before the battle commenced, he is said to have addressed to his troops the following speech:

‘ My dear friends,

‘ The hour is come, in which all that is, and
‘ all that ought to be dear to us, depends upon
‘ the swords which are now drawn for the
‘ battle. Time permits me to say but little;
‘ nor is there occasion to say much. You know,
‘ that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold,
‘ no watching, no danger, that I have not shared
‘ with you hitherto; and you now see me ready
‘ to lay down my life with you, and for you.
‘ All I ask is, the same pledge of fidelity and
‘ affection that I give. And let me add, not as
‘ an incitement to your courage, but as a testi-
‘ mony of my own gratitude, that from this
‘ hour, till you go into winter quarters, your
‘ pay shall be doubled. Acquit yourselves like
‘ men,

CHAP. 'men, and put your confidence in God'.³²

XXIV. This speech is represented to have produced a

A. D. great effect, and to have been received with loud

1757. acclamations.

THE king of Prussia observed, that the combined troops had passed his flank, and continued marching towards Mersebourg. He, therefore, ordered his cavalry and artillery to march on the left, behind the hills, and to occupy that near Lunstadt and Reichertswerben, while the infantry followed with the utmost expedition. The generals of the combined army, seeing the Prussians quit their camp with an appearance of precipitation, supposed that they were retiring: which appeared the more probable, as they could not discover any thing of the march, which was concealed by the hills. Anxious lest the Prussians should escape, and they lose the fruits of their fine dispositions, the French and Imperial generals advanced in great haste with their cavalry, followed, at a considerable distance, by their infantry, hoping to overtake the Prussian rear-guard; and, by attacking it with vigour, either to destroy it, or to force the Prussians to a general action. Being arrived near Reichertswerben, some of the Prussian horse appeared on the heights behind the village. The combined

³² Annual Register, vol. I. p. 22. Entick's Hist. of the War, ut supra, p. 457, 458. Vie de Frederic II. tome II. p. 49, 50. edit. Strasbourg, 12mo. 1788.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

troops continued, however, to advance, thinking that some of the Prussian cavalry were only posted there to gain time, and to cover the retreat. But this illusion soon vanished. All the Prussian horse were then forming, under the protection of some heavy artillery, posted on the hill. As soon as they were formed, Frederick immediately ordered his troops to attack those of the enemy. This they executed with such promptitude and vigour, that they broke them, and drove them back in confusion to the village of Busendorff. There they attempted to rally; but the Prussians renewed their attack, without giving them time to execute it, broke them again, and so effectually, that they quitted the field³³.

In the mean time, the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry; but the king of Prussia, who had as yet six or eight battalions only come up, ordered them instantly to advance, and attack the enemy, while they were occupied in forming the line. This was immediately executed; and, being supported by the cavalry and artillery, the Prussians easily broke those few troops which had formed at the head of the columns, and drove them back in confusion. The prince de Soubise did not, however, give up the affair as lost: the reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, was ordered

³³ Lloyd's Hist. of the War, at *supra*, p. 96.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

to advance and sustain the infantry, in order to form the line, if possible. But these were instantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field: upon which the combined infantry, unsupported by its own cavalry, taken in flank by that of the Prussians, and exposed to a heavy fire of the artillery and small arms, were unable to keep their ground, and much less to form a line forwards. They, therefore, attempted once more to form it behind, between the village of Bufendorff and the Luftschiff, under the protection of some French cavalry. But these being overpowered, and forced to retire, after a vigorous contest, the infantry were likewise obliged to quit the field with precipitation³⁴.

GENERAL Lloyd remarks, that though the king of Prussia observed the enemy in motion all the morning, he waited with great coolness till he discovered what their intentions were, and then instantly made his dispositions. 'His marching behind the hill,' the general says, 'was attended with many great advantages. That appearance of a flight elated the spirits of the enemy, so as to make them neglect the necessary precautions. They hastened so much, that their army was thrown into some disorder while in march; and they were so perfectly deceived, that they found themselves, all at once, with the head of their columns, under

³⁴ Ibid. p. 97.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

the fire of the enemy's line; and so near, that they could not form their troops. The king saw this favourable moment, and ordered his cavalry to attack directly; and, though scarcely any of his infantry was come up, he ordered those few battalions to advance, before the enemy could make any disposition. One inch of the ground, or one instant of time lost, would have given the enemy time and room to form their line. But the king's dispositions were so exact, and so well calculated, that neither happened; and he was most deservedly crowned with victory³⁵.

THE action did not last more than an hour and a half; at five o'clock in the afternoon the victory was decided; the cannonading ceased; and the French and Imperialists fled on all sides [v]. They were pursued by the Prussians, as long as there was any light by which they could be distinguished; so that night alone was said to have been the preservation of that army, which had been so formidable in the morning. Early on the following morning, the king of

³⁵ History of the War in Germany, ut supra, p. 105.

[v] Voltaire says, 'The battle of ROSBACH will be long celebrated. Thirty thousand French, and twenty thousand Imperialists, were seen flying, shamefully and precipitately, before five battalions, and some squadrons. The defeats of AGINCOURT, of CRESSY, and of POICTIERS, were not more humiliating.' *Memoires de Voltaire*, p. 166.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

Prussia set out to pursue them, with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The French and Imperialists, who marched all night [z], had passed the Unstrut at Freyburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, but which was speedily effected. The Prussian cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there; and the king, therefore, thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages; but his hussars

[z] In a letter written by an officer of the army of the empire, who was present at the battle of ROSEBACH, and whose letter is dated two days after the action, is the following passage: 'We have lost all our baggage and artillery, and at least ten thousand men. We marched the whole night, and passing the river at Freyburgh, arrived at Eckersberg at six o'clock in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon the field-marshal (the prince of Hildburghausen) and prince George (of D'Armstadt) joined us. They had hardly sat down to dinner, but we perceived the enemy at our heels, who cannonaded us briskly; and as our army was not got together, nothing was left for us but to retreat. Having again marched all night, we arrived at last at Erfurth, where we now are, in want of every thing, though we are rather better off than before. It is now eight days since our men have had bread: they have lived upon turnips and radishes, which they dug out of the earth.' Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 462.

made themselves masters of three hundred waggons of the enemy, laden with baggage³⁶.

CHAP.
XXIV:
A. D.
1757.

IN the battle of ROSBACH, the king of Prussia gained a most splendid victory over an army that was much more than double in number to that of his own, and with very little loss. Not more than three hundred of the Prussians are said to have been killed and wounded [A]; while the loss of the French and Imperialists, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to more than ten thousand. Eight French generals, several German generals, and two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks, were taken by the Prussians, together with seventy-two pieces of cannon, fifteen standards, and other military trophies. Three hundred waggons, loaden with wounded soldiers of the combined army, were sent, with most of the other prisoners, to Leipzig.

³⁶ Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the London Gazette.

[A] Voltaire has exhibited a remarkable instance of that inaccuracy respecting matters of fact, which not unfrequently occurs in his writings, in the account which he has given in his MEMOIRS, p. 165, of the battle of ROSBACH. He says, that he believes prince Henry to have been the only Prussian who was hurt on that day. Prince Henry was wounded, as were also the generals Seidlitz and Meinecke. Colonel Prignitz was killed. The first account of the battle of ROSBACH, published in the London Gazette, stated the loss of the Prussians at about five hundred, killed and wounded; but, according to later accounts, the number did not amount to more than three hundred.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

General Revel, brother to the duke de Broglie, died of his wounds at Mersebourg, the day after the action. After the battle, Frederick visited most of the wounded French officers; and told them, as a reason for his doing this, that 'he could not yet accustom himself to consider the French as his enemies.' In the evening of the day after which the battle was fought, the king invited the French general officers, and other officers of distinction who were taken prisoners, to sup with him. But he made an apology for his entertainment, as not sufficiently magnificent for such respectable guests. He would have been glad, he told them, to have treated them in a more splendid manner; 'but really, gentlemen,' said he, 'I did not expect you so soon, nor in such large numbers.'

Soon after the victory obtained by the king of Prussia at Rosbach, the Hanoverian troops, who had been disqualified for taking any active part in the war by the convention of Closter-Seven, discovered a disposition to resume their arms. Complaints were made, that the duke de Richelieu had oppressed the inhabitants of the electorate of Hanover; that the conditions of the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated; and that the convention itself had not been ratified by the court of France. It was required by that court, that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against

France

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

France and her allies, during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. This, the French ministry affirmed, was the manifest design of the convention of Closter-Seven; but this was denied by the court of London, who maintained, that the convention was only a provisional armistice, intended to pave the way for a negociation, that might terminate in a general peace; and that it was never intended that the Hanoverian troops should lay down their arms. It was likewise stated, on behalf of the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, that the conduct of the French in that electorate had freed his majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention; that in the midst of the armistice hostilities had been committed; that the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners; that the baillifs of those districts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue; and that the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines, which, by express agreement, were destined

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

destined for the use of the electoral troops; and had seized the houses, revenue, and corn, belonging to the king of England, in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that place as free and neutral.

MEMORIALS were published in vindication of the conduct of the courts both of France and of Great Britain: but in this state of things the Hanoverians resumed their arms, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had been recommended to that appointment by the king of Prussia. A letter was written to that prince by the duke de Richelieu, in which he observed, that although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine, that the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality, which had been established between the duke of Cumberland and himself; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the King of England, elector of Hanover, and of his son, who had signed the convention, as to believe that the troops were assembled for no other purpose, than to be distributed into the winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by the repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought

to

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

to have been sacred and inviolable. The duke added, ' The king my master having been informed of these dangerous movements, and of the breach of faith in the Hanoverians, is still desirous of giving fresh proofs of his moderation, and of his wish to spare the effusion of blood. It is with this view that I have the honour to declare to your serene highness, in the name of his most Christian majesty, that I persist in my resolution of fulfilling exactly all the articles of the convention, provided the Hanoverian army on its part does the same. But I cannot conceal from your serene highness, that if, contrary to all expectation, it should take any equivocal step, and still more if it should commit any act of hostility, I shall then push matters to the last extremity, looking on myself as authorized to do so by the laws of war. I will reduce all the palaces, royal houses, and gardens to ashes. I will sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the smallest hut. In short, this country shall experience all the horrors of war. I recommend it to your serene highness to reflect upon all this, and not reduce me to the necessity of taking steps so contrary to the natural humanity of the French nation, and to my own personal character.' This letter was seconded by the count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who, in the name of his master, had acted as mediator

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

mediator in concluding the convention of Closter-Seven. A very laconic answer was returned by prince Ferdinand, the purport of which was, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his answer in person, at the head of his army.

THE Hanoverian army being now assembled at Stade, under the command of prince Ferdinand, he resolved to exert his utmost efforts to drive the French out of the electorate of Hanover. Two thousand French troops were attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after, another action happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These advantages encouraged the Hanoverians, and put them in possession of Lunenburgh, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the French were obliged to abandon. But the operations of prince Ferdinand were somewhat retarded, by the resolution of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops had made themselves masters of that town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by which it was invested. But the fortifications being at length entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. Prince Ferdinand afterwards proceeded towards

towards Zell, where the duke de Richelieu himself had taken post; but, at the approach of the Hanoverians, he called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, and burnt all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep-walks of his Britannick majesty. He also reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished: but this circumstance was attributed by the French to accident. When the Hanoverians had advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops posted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were so strongly entrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded; and his troops were also exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather. He, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters, and executed several small enterprizes by detachments; while the duke de Richelieu fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many skirmishes were fought with various success. The emperor of Germany, and his consort the empress-queen, having received

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

ceived information of the operations of the Hanoverian troops, which they considered as infractions of the convention of Closter-Seven, sent an intimation to the baron de Steinberg, minister from the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he should no more appear at court, nor confer with their ministers, and that his residence at Vienna was not agreeable; and accordingly he soon after quitted that city.

THE resumption of their arms by the Hanoverians was an event favourable to the king of Prussia, though not beneficial either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover [B].

[B] Dr. Smollett remarks, that if the French had been allowed to keep Hanover as a deposit, agreeably to what they alleged was the intention of the convention of Closter-Seven, 'the kingdom of Great Britain would have saved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace. But the king of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befel that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own sentiments in this particular were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige.' *Hist. of England, from the Revolution*, vol. IV. p. 199, 200. The same writer also observes, that the king of Prussia recommended prince Ferdinand of Brunswick to the command of the Hanoverians, 'because he knew, that he could depend upon his concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British army.' *Ibid.* p. 201.

But

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

But before the events that I have just related, the Austrian army had made a considerable progress in the province of Silesia; and a large detachment of Austrian troops, under the command of count Nadaſti, had invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it. The Prussian garrison was commanded by the generals Seers and Grumkow; and the Prussians made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works. But, on the sixth of November, the Austrians began to cannonade the city very furiously; and, on the eleventh of that month, they made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault, which obliged the governor to capitulate the next morning. The garrison, consisting of four generals, and about six thousand men, were made prisoners of war. A vast quantity of provisions, artillery, and stores, fell into the hands of the Austrians, together with three hundred thousand florins.³⁷

AFTER the surrender of Schweidnitz, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and marechal Daun, who had invested Breslaw on the side of the Oder, whilst the prince of Bevern

³⁷ Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, ut supra, p. 112.

defended

CHAP.

XXIV.

A. D.

1757.

defended it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with the army under his command, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being thus united, and intelligence having arrived, that the king of Prussia was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was immediately resolved to attack that Prussian general in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders³⁸; and at noon the Prussian intrenchments were stormed in every quarter. Twice were the Austrians repulsed with great slaughter; but at the third attack, the Prussians being overpowered by numbers, and assailed on all sides, began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the prince of Bevern being apprehensive that his entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that he should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. He retired, with the greatest part of his army, to an eminence on the banks of the Oder; whilst the remainder of his troops threw themselves into Breslaw.

THE Austrian army was more than double in number to that of the Prussians under the prince

³⁸ London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, from the London Gazette.

of Bevern; and the loss of the Austrians, in the battle of Breslaw, amounted to about six thousand, killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the Prussians must also have been considerable; but general Lloyd remarks³⁹, that of their loss no account appeared; and it is supposed to have been much inferior to that of the Austrians. On their side general Wurben was killed; and one lieutenant-general, and four major-generals, were wounded. On the side of the Prussians one general was killed; and prince Francis of Brunswick, the prince of Wurtemberg, and general Schultz, were wounded⁴⁰.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

Two days after the battle, the prince of Bevern rode out early in the morning, attended only by a single servant, to reconnoitre the enemy, when he fell in among a party of Croats, by whom he was taken prisoner [c]. The command of the Prussian

³⁹ Hist. of the War, ut supra, p. 120.

⁴⁰ London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, 608. from the London Gazette.

[c] The following account is given of the prince of Bevern being taken prisoner, in an extract of a letter from the Imperial army near Breslaw, published in the London Gazette of Dec. 13, 1757. ' On the 24th (of November) Te Deum was sung. The same day the prince of Bevern, commander in chief of the Prussian army, having been to reconnoitre us, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a body of Croats, who were in general Beck's advanced posts. He is made prisoner of war, and carried to Stablowitz, where marechal Daun's quarters formerly were, and is guarded by a lieute-

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

Prussian troops then devolved upon general Kyow; but, on the twenty-fifth of November, the city of Breslaw surrendered to the Austrians by capitulation [D]. The garrison, commanded by general Lestewitz, was permitted to march out with all military honours.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Rosbach, the king of Prussia resolved to march into Silesia, in order to oppose the progress of the Austrians. Accordingly he set out from Leipzig on the twelfth of November, at the head of nineteen

‘ a lieutenant and thirty men. He is treated with every mark
‘ of distinction, that his birth, character, and eminent quali-
‘ ties deserve. You may easily imagine, that we are not sorry
‘ for this accident; for he cuts us out a great deal of work.’

General Lloyd says, that the prince of Bevern was released in 1758, without any ransom, on account of his being somewhat related to the empress-queen: but other accounts say, that he was released in exchange for one of the Austrian generals. The king of Prussia having afterwards expressed much disapprobation of his conduct, he retired to Stettin, of which he was governor, and continued there till 1762, when he was called to the army in Silesia, and had a corps entrusted to his command, while the king was besieging Schweidnitz. This prince was esteemed an able general: he was wounded at the battle of Molwitz; and distinguished himself in the battles of Hohen Friedberg, Lowositz, and Prague.

[D] Fréderick says, ‘ The capture of Breslaw cost the
‘ enemy thirteen generals, six hundred and eighty-six officers,
‘ and seventeen thousand six hundred and thirty-five common
‘ soldiers.’ Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, p. 246.

batta-

battalions, and twenty-eight squadrons⁴¹; and whilst he marched towards Lusatia, marechal Keith entered Bohemia through the defile of Passberg, with a view to draw the Austrian general Marschal, then in Lusatia, into Bohemia, and thereby to facilitate the march of the king. At Leutmeritz, marechal Keith seized a considerable magazine belonging to the Austrians; he then set fire to the bridge over the Elbe, and marched on towards Prague; but after a short stay in Bohemia, he marched back again into Saxony.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

THE king arrived at Torgau on the fourteenth of the month; and on the seventeenth he passed the river at Grossen-hayn, where he first heard of the surrender of Schweidnitz. On the twenty-fourth, he arrived at Naumbourg upon the Queiss; and there he received information of the battle of Breslaw. He then made forced marches; and, on the twenty-eighth arrived at Parchwitz near the Oder, where his vanguard surprized a detachment of eleven hundred Austrians, fifty of which were killed, and one hundred and fifty made prisoners. The troops, which had been under the command of the prince of Bevern, had crossed the Oder at Glogau, and joined the king on the second of December. It is also said, that

⁴¹ Account of the progress of the Prussian army, and of the battle of Lissa, supposed to be written by the king himself, published in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 626.

CHAP.

XXIV.

A. D.

1757.

about this time Frederick was joined by a considerable part of the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had risen upon the escort by which they were guarded, and dispersed them; and, without knowing the situation of the king, had the good fortune to meet him on his march⁴².

On the fourth of December, Frederick arrived at Neumarck, where was a considerable Austrian magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground. The king ordered his hussars to surround them, and sent a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Ziethen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms. Frederick now received information, that prince Charles of Lorraine, and marechal Daun, had left Breslaw; that the Austrian army had advanced beyond Lissa; and that their right wing was covered by the village of Niepern, and their left by that of Golau, with the rivulet of Schweidnitz in their rear. He immediately resolved to attack them; and accordingly gave orders to his army to march for that purpose at five the next morning, which was the fifth of December, just one month from the day on which he had gained his victory at Rosbach.

⁴² Annual Register, vol. I. p. 24. Smollett, p. 185. Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 6.

At day-break, a part of the Austrian cavalry were descried on a hill, about half a league from Neumark. They had spread themselves so much, that they were at first supposed to be the whole Austrian army; but, upon a nearer approach, they were discovered to be only two regiments of hussars, and some Saxon dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-general count Nostitz. They were attacked by the Prussian vanguard, who drove them back to their own camp, and took six officers, and about five hundred men prisoners.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

THE Austrian army was very strongly posted, in front of the village of LEUTHEN, upon a fine plain, with some adjacent eminences well furnished with artillery, and fortified both on the right and left, by strong batteries of cannon. The ground in their front was intersected by many causeways; and to make the whole more impracticable, the Austrians had felled great numbers of trees, and scattered them in the way. The Austrian army also amounted to sixty thousand men, while that of the king of Prussia did not exceed thirty-three thousand.

} Battle of
Lipsa

It was about one o'clock at noon when the battle commenced. The attack began in a wood, where the Austrians had posted some infantry, but which were forced by the Prussians. Some brigades of Austrian infantry were also posted on an eminence that lay behind the wood; but

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

these were also attacked by the Prussians, and routed after an obstinate resistance. The Austrian generals were deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Prussia towards their right wing, against which he had made great demonstrations, and which induced them to collect their chief strength thither: whilst he, being concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a masterly stroke of generalship, to bear upon their left, against which he meditated his real attack⁴³. General Lloyd remarks, that 'the king's conduct was founded on the most sublime principles of war. Though his army was much inferior to that of the enemy, yet, by dint of superior manœuvres, he brought more men into action, at the point attacked, than they; which must be decisive, when the troops are nearly equal in goodness⁴⁴.'

At the beginning of the action, it was almost impossible for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments which the Austrians had thrown in their way; but by degrees these obstructions were so far overcome, that the Prussian cavalry acted with great effect; and the judicious dispositions of the king greatly contributed to the defeat of the Austrians. When he first formed his army, he had placed four bat-

⁴³ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 299, 300.

⁴⁴ Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 139.

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

talions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps de reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen; that general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder⁴⁵. The Austrians gave way on all sides, but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. They made a great stand at the village of LEUTHEN, which was defended on all sides by entrenchments and redoubts; and they maintained the battle at this place about an hour longer. But they were at length compelled to give up the contest, to yield to the superior valour of the Prussians, and to retire with precipitation. They were pursued by the Prussian cavalry and hussars great part of the night; and Frederick himself pursued them as far as LISSA, where his army spent the night under arms; and from this place the battle has been generally denominated [E]; but the king of Prussia calls it the battle of LEUTHEN.

FREDE-

⁴⁵ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 25.

[E] Voltaire says, 'The king of Prussia, who had beaten our army in Thuringia, at Rosbach, set out next to fight the Austrian army at sixty leagues distance. The French might then still have entered Saxony. The conquerors had marched

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

FREDERICK says, that ' had not night come on, this battle would have been the most decisive of the present age.' He adds, that the Prussians lost, ' in killed and wounded, only two thousand six hundred and sixty men.'— The Austrians lost three hundred and seven officers; twenty-one thousand soldiers, one hundred and thirty-four cannon, and fifty-nine pair of colours. Generals Ziethen and Fouquet took two thousand five hundred prisoners in the pursuit⁴⁶. The confusion of the Austrians, in the pursuit, became so great, that a cornet of general Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten Prussians only, took, disarmed, and brought prisoners to the head-quarters, one hundred Austrians; for which gallant action Frederick pro-

elsewhere, and there was nothing to oppose them. But they had thrown away their arms, and lost their cannon, ammunition, and provisions, and above all, their understanding. They were dispersed, and their remains were with difficulty collected. A month afterwards, and on the same day of the month, Frederick gained a still more signal, and better contested victory, over the Austrian army near Breslaw. He retok Breslaw, with fifteen thousand prisoners, and the rest of Silesia soon submitted to him. Gustavus Adolphus never performed such acts. We must, therefore, pardon him his poetry, his pleasantries, his little malice, and even his sin against the female sex. All the faults of the man vanish before the glory of the hero.' *Memoires de Voltaire*, p. 172, 173.

⁴⁶ *Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, tome I. p. 242, 243, 246.

moted

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

moted the cornet to the rank of a captain, and conferred on him the order of merit⁴⁷.

AFTER this great victory, the king of Prussia marched to Breslaw, and immediately opened the trenches before that city. On the sixteenth of December, a bomb having fallen into a magazine of powder, the attacked bastion, and near half the adjoining curtain was blown up, and above eight hundred of the Austrians. This misfortune obliged the commandant to capitulate on the twentieth of the month. The garrison, consisting of above seventeen thousand men, including thirteen general officers, and the sick and wounded at the two last battles, were made prisoners of war⁴⁸. The blockade of Schweidnitz was also formed, as closely as the extreme severity of the weather [F] would permit; whilst the

⁴⁷ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 11.

⁴⁸ Lloyd's Hist. of the War, ut supra, p. 135.

[F] Dr. Smollett observes, that 'such was the rigour of the season, that some hundreds of the sentinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers; and, indeed, this practice of winter-campaigns, in such a cold country, bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.' Hist. ut supra, p. 189.

Though the king of Prussia himself acknowledges, in his 'Military Instructions for the Generals of his Army,' that he had made more winter-campaigns than any other general of his own time, he yet makes the following remarks relative to

CHAR.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

the Prussian parties not only re-possessed those parts of Silesia which belonged to the king, but penetrating into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorff, Troppau, and Teschen, and left to the empress-queen, excepting Schweidnitz, which was now besieged, not the least footing in that country, in which, less than a month before, her dominion was supposed to be perfectly re-established ⁴⁹.

THUS ended the active and memorable campaign of 1757, in which Frederick, notwithstanding his defeat at Kolin, and the other misfortunes which he met with, had gained three signal and important victories, that of PRAGUE, of ROSBACH, and of LISSA; and in each of these battles he had himself commanded in person. It was a year distinguished by great events, and by striking revolutions of fortune; and in which the great power of the king of Prussia's enemies

such campaigns. ' Winter-campaigns are the ruin of your troops, not only on account of the sickness they occasion, but because, from your continual motion, they can neither be clothed nor recruited. The same want of repose, prevents all your carriages, &c. from being properly repaired, and ends in their total destruction. Nothing can be more certain, than that the best army in the world cannot long support such campaigns; for which reason, winter expeditions ought by all means to be avoided: not but there is a possibility of a general being so circumstanced, as to be obliged to have recourse to that kind of ruinous war. Military instructions, p. 170.

⁴⁹ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 25.

had

had been remarkably either baffled, or defeated. The numerous armies which had been brought against him appeared almost annihilated; and the rapidity with which he recovered his losses, the stand which he made against the potentates that were united against him, the greatness of his enterprizes, and the splendour of his victories, arrested the attention, and excited the admiration of surrounding nations. Throughout the year, he displayed such consummate military skill, such vigour and fortitude of mind, and such heroic courage, as extorted the applause even of his enemies,

CHAP.
XXIV.
A. D.
1757.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXV.

Schweidnitz surrenders to the king of Prussia.—A subsidiary treaty entered into between him and the king of Great Britain.—Frederick enters Moravia at the head of his army, and lays siege to Olmutz. —Marechal Daun also enters Moravia, intercepts the Prussian convoys, and obliges the king to raise the siege.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

AT the opening of the campaign of the year 1758, the king of Prussia divided his forces into four separate bodies; one of which he ordered to assemble on the right of the Oder, between Wohlau and Glogau, to cover Silesia on that side, and make head against the Russians, in case they should advance that way; another towards Upper Silesia, on the side of Moravia, which preserved at the same time a communication with Glatz; the third in Lusatia, to secure the communication with Saxony, and annoy the frontiers of Bohemia; while the fourth and principal body, which was to be under the immediate command of the king himself, was assembled near Schweidnitz. As the siege of that place had been turned into a blockade, it was not invested in form till the twenty-first of March, when the operations were carried on with great vigour, and the place surrendered on the sixteenth

sixteenth of April. The garrison, which had been reduced by sickness during the blockade, and by their losses during the siege, from seven to little more than three thousand men, were made prisoners of war.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

Of the king's behaviour, during this siege, to an officer of artillery in his service, but who seems not to have been a native of the Prussian dominions, an anecdote is related, which appears not unworthy of being preserved. The king had expressed much dissatisfaction at the engineers and miners in the course of the siege; and in particular treated this officer, who was a captain of artillery, somewhat rudely; and concluded with ordering him to leave his service. The officer, who was then in the trenches, made no reply, but immediately quitted the spot. The king, seeing him walk off, called him back, and said to him, 'You may stay till the siege is over, and then you may go.' 'I am obliged to your majesty,' replied the officer, 'for giving me leave to break an arm, or a leg, before I leave your service; but I shall stand in need of both, to save your majesty the expence of having me carried out of your territories.' The king smiled at the officer's repartee, sent him back to his post, and ordered him a gratuity ^{so}.

^{so} Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 70. The author of this publication informs us, that this anecdote was related to him by the officer himself.

CHAP.

XXV.

A. D.

1758.

As at the close of the preceding year the Hanoverians had resumed their arms, and began to act with vigour against the French, it also appeared early in the year 1758, that the king of Prussia would derive great assistance, if not by auxiliary troops, at least by a supply of money, from the king and parliament of Great Britain. It has, indeed, been said, that though no subsidy was openly mentioned in the first treaty made by his Britannick majesty with the king of Prussia, yet that a subsidy of 200,000*l.* was privately stipulated. However that were, a second treaty was concluded between their Britannick and Prussian majesties, which was signed at London on the twelfth of April, 1758, in which it was stated, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty, to defend himself against the numerous enemies, who had assailed him on all sides at once, had put him to a very heavy expence; whilst, on the other hand, his revenues had greatly decreased in that part of his dominions which had been the theatre of war; and as the contracting powers had mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannick majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most speedy

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

speedy and efficacious method of attaining the ends proposed. It then farther stated, that the king of Great Britain engaged to pay, in the city of London, to such person or persons as should be authorized to receive it, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING, to be paid at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian majesty⁵¹.

For this enormous subsidy no specific services were stipulated to be rendered either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover. It was only stated, in general terms, that his Prussian majesty engaged to apply the money in augmenting and keeping up his forces, which should act as might be most for the interest of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security. It was added, that neither of the contracting powers should conclude any peace, make any truce, or enter into any treaty of neutrality, of what kind soever, without the participation of the other.

THE first Prussian treaty entered into by his Britannick majesty, was in a very high degree injudicious and impolitic; and the second was extremely burthensome to his subjects. Indeed, by these treaties he involved his regal dominions

⁵¹ Entick's Hist. of the War. vol. III. p. 74, 75.

in

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

in an immense expence, and rendered no real service to the electorate of Hanover. The preservation of the balance of power in Europe, was one reason assigned for a connection with Prussia. But no security was derived to the balance of power from the Prussian treaties. Few events could have more endangered that balance, than a union between the powerful houses of Austria and Bourbon; and this union appears to have been entirely occasioned by the first Prussian treaty. It may also be observed, that no one interest of Great Britain was promoted by the war carrying on by the king of Prussia against the empress-queen; nor could Great Britain derive any advantage from his invasion of Saxony, a Protestant electorate, with the sovereign of which his Britannick majesty had been in close alliance, and from whom he had received no injury. Russia had also been in alliance with Great Britain; and it could not be advantageous to the latter to be at variance with the czarina.

BUT notwithstanding the many reasons that may be urged, against the part which was taken by Great Britain in support of the king of Prussia, the fact was, that, after his victories at ROSBACH and LISSA, this prince became extremely popular in England [c]. His heroic qualities

[c] Count Algarotti says, that the French army having been routed by the king of Prussia, when it was least expected,

qualities excited admiration; the causes of the war in which he was engaged were not sufficiently investi-

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

at the memorable battle of ROSBACH, and in a month after, the Austrians, at the still more memorable battle of LISSA, which was followed by the taking of Breslaw, the English began to talk of nothing but the king of Prussia's victories. It was a scandal, they said, to leave at the mercy of Fortune a Hero, who should be considered as the champion of the Protestant cause in Germany, and the only prince on the continent worthy the alliance of England, in opposition to France. His portrait was every where to be seen, and was the admiration of all descriptions of persons. His birthday was kept through the whole island with as much rejoicing, as if at Rosbach he had saved England from the invasion of the French. The king took the advantage of this public enthusiasm, to bring once more upon the carpet the proposition of sending an army, or at least a large body of English troops, to the continent.—The next year, large reinforcements of English troops were sent to Germany; the famous treaty of subsidy with Prussia was concluded; and then it was that PITT conceived the idea of conquering America in Germany; constrained, as he himself has since acknowledged, by the necessity which English ministers will ever be under, whilst the king of Great Britain is elector of Hanover.' Letters Military and Political, p. 127, 128, 129.

Such was the enthusiasm of many in England for the king of Prussia, that subscriptions were proposed to be raised for him; and a maiden lady, of Salisbury, remitted to him, by her banker, one thousand pounds as a present. Gent. Mag. for the year 1758, p. 142. Some English noblemen and gentlemen also made offers of entering into his army as volunteers, but their offers were declined. The king's answer was, that he was very sensible of the honour done him, by those English noblemen and gentlemen, who were desirous to learn the

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

investigated, or understood; and he was considered as the great defender of the Protestant religion in Germany; though the war, in which he was engaged, had not in reality any connection whatever with religion [H]. He would as readily have united himself with the king of France, as with the king of England, if he had thought his own views would have been equally promoted. No new designs against the Protestant religion had been formed by any of the Popish princes; and, indeed, from no Roman Catholic prince in that age, did the

‘ the art of war under him, by serving as volunteers; but that
‘ the luxury and expence of the British nobility and gentry
‘ could not be admitted into his camp, lest it should prove in-
‘ fectionous.’ Besides his apprehensions from the infection of
luxury, Frederick was probably conscious, from what he might
have learned of the English character, that there were many
things in his conduct, which, upon a near inspection, would not
naturally recommend him to Englishmen; and that the reports
which they might transmit to their own country concerning
him, might have no tendency to increase the ardour of the
people of England in his support.

[H] In a declaration which was published by the empress-queen at Vienna, in answer to a manifesto of the king of Prussia, is the following passage: ‘ The hostile projects which the king
‘ of Prussia hath cherished in his own breast were to seem the
‘ consequences of that zeal, with which he pretended to be
‘ filled for the support of the Protestant religion, which was
‘ disturbed or threatened by none: whereas the persons of
‘ best sense of that very religion are convinced, that if only
‘ the support of religion was in question, the king of Prussia
‘ would not sacrifice one private soldier to the cause.’ *Literary Magazine*, vol. I. p. 432.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

Protestants in Germany suffer so much, as they did from the king of Prussia. This was the case not in Saxony only, but in Bohemia, and other places.

At the period of which I am writing, Mr. PITT was secretary of state in England; and it was manifest, that this great minister now acted in opposition to his former declarations and opinions, respecting continental connections, in compliance with the personal prejudices of the king. When out of office, he had vehemently declared in parliament, that 'not a man, no, not half a man, should be sent to fight the battles of any foreign elector;' and his declarations of this kind had given great offence to king George II. When he was secretary of state in 1757, he still continued to oppose sending British troops to Germany, and was removed from his office; but he was afterwards re-instated, by the voice of the people prevailing against the private inclinations of the king. He concurred, however, the following year, in the second Prussian treaty, and in the measures which were the result of it. As to the first Prussian treaty, it was concluded when he was not in power; and he could not, therefore, be answerable for the consequences. Mr. PITT possessed an elevated genius, had great views, and really wished to promote the honour and the interest of his country; but he was also influenced by motives of ambition; and he found,

Vol. II. H that

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

that no man was likely to continue long in power, who would not comply with the personal prejudices of the king, and support his attachment to German subsidies, and German connections. 'What the king has most at heart,' says count Algarotti, 'is certainly his electorate of Hanover. This is the compass that has uniformly guided the wars of England, since the elevation of the house of Brunswick to the throne of that kingdom; and the preservation of this electorate will still continue to be the ruling principle⁵².'

BUT it is necessary that I should return to the military operations of the king of Prussia. After the surrender of Schweidnitz, he advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenau, which was garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harrafs the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time, the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body of troops against the Austrian general Jahnus, who was posted in the county of Glatz, and whom he obliged to abandon all the posts that he occupied in that country. He pursued him as far as

⁵² Letters Military and Political, p. 101.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was now encamped, under the command of marechal Daun. Besides these excursions, the king ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, who had displayed great military talents against the army of the empire, which had been assembled with great difficulty near Bamberg, in Franconia, under the command of the prince de Deuxponts.

THE king of Prussia, by the motions of his troops, took some pains to induce the Austrians to believe, that he intended to carry the war into Bohemia. But his real design was to change the theatre of war, and to penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept free from ravage and contribution. And if he could have succeeded in his operations in this country, his successes, by opening to him the nearest road to Vienna, must have proved more decisive than in any other place. Accordingly having posted some of his troops in such a manner, as to deceive the enemy with respect to his real design, the main of his army, by a very rapid march, entered into Moravia in two columns⁵³. As by this unexpected march he had thrown his enemies behind him, it was expected, that he would have proceeded directly to Vienna. But he saw the

⁵³ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 40, 41.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

danger of leaving an Austrian garrison in Olmütz, supported by an Austrian army in his rear. He, therefore, resolved to make himself master of that strong town, before he advanced farther. He accordingly opened the trenches before it on the twenty-seventh of May, with the most sanguine expectations of success⁵⁴. He drove the Austrian and Saxon cavalry, under general Ville, beyond Wischaw; and his army took possession of all the posts, which were proper for covering the troops intended to be employed in the siege. The margrave Charles occupied the post of Neustadt; the prince of Anhalt-Deffau that of Littau; and the king himself took post on the eminences between Proßnitz and Olitschau⁵⁵.

MARECHAL Daun being apprised of Frederick's motions and designs, now quitted his camp at Leutomissel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. He did not, however, think it prudent to attack the king of Prussia; but supposed that he might more certainly and safely prevent his progress, by adopting a more wary and cautious mode of conduct. He took his posts from Gewics to Littau, in a mountainous country, in a situation in which it was impossible to attack him. He had the fertile country of Bohemia, from whence he readily and certainly drew supplies, at his rear. His scheme was, to

⁵⁴ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 311.

⁵⁵ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 150.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

relieve the besieged occasionally, to harrafs the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish⁵⁶. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Moravia, that it is a city which it is very difficult completely to invest. Some of the king's posts, therefore, being necessarily weakened, by occupying so great an extent of country, they were attacked by count Daun's detachments from time to time, with such success, that abundant succours both of men and ammunition were thrown into the place. These attacks were mostly made by night, and very few nights passed without some attack. The success was various. But the operations of the siege were greatly disturbed by these continual alarms⁵⁷. The forage in the neighbourhood of Moravia had also become extremely scarce; so that the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions for forage to a great distance, and were consequently exposed to great fatigue, and often liable to surprize. Marechal Daun availed himself of all these circumstances; and it was in vain that the king of Prussia employed various arts to incite him to a battle. While the garrison made repeated sallies, to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harrafsed the Prussian foraging parties, fell upon different

⁵⁶ Smollett, ut supra, p. 315.

⁵⁷ Annual Register,

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the king finished his first parallel, and proceeded with such vigour, as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely frustrated by the vigilance and activity of count Daun. That able general having received intelligence, that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the king to desist from his enterprize. He sent general Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadt-Liebe, with orders to attack the convoy on different sides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. Frederick was not deceived by this feint. From the motions of the Austrian general, he suspected his real scheme, and immediately dispatched general Ziethen, with a strong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who had been sick, and were just recovered; and who, it is said, 'were regimented for the sake of order in the march⁵⁸.' But before Ziethen could join them, the convoy had been

⁵⁸ Relation of the King of Prussia's proceedings, from his entering Moravia, &c. published by authority at Berlin, and supposed to be written by the king himself, printed in the London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 412, 413, &c.

attacked;

attacked; though the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Marechal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and the next day, which was the twenty-ninth of June, the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, four battalions of Prussian infantry, and about a thousand troopers, had scarcely passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously, both on the side of Bahrn, and on that of Domstadt. The head of the convoy was cut off from the rest; and general Ziethen, though he exerted himself like a brave and able officer, was obliged to abandon his waggons, and retire to Troppau⁵⁹.

CHAP.
XXV.
A. D.
1758.

THUS almost the whole Prussian convoy fell into the hands of the Austrians, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with general Puttkammer. This unfavourable event compelled Frederick to raise the siege; but if the convoy had arrived safe, it was supposed that the place could not have held out more than a fortnight, though a very gallant defence was made by the governor, general Marschall⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Berlin account, in the Lond. Mag. ut supra.

⁶⁰ Id. ibid.

C H A P. XXVI.

Frederick retires out of Moravia, marches into Bohemia, and makes himself master of Koningsgratz.—The Russians enter the Prussian dominions, and commit great ravages there.—Siege of Custrin.—The king of Prussia sets out from Bohemia, to oppose the progress of the Russians.—Battle of Zorndorff.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

THE king of Prussia having been obliged to raise the siege of Olmutz, by the able and vigilant conduct of count Daun, now found it necessary to change his designs, and to retire out of Moravia. But it was a matter of some difficulty, to retreat without loss, in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage. In this, however, he had the good fortune to succeed. Instead of falling back upon Silesia, his most natural and obvious march, but which must have drawn the Austrians into his own dominions, he determined to take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by marechal Daun, when he advanced his quarters to Prostnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After Frederick had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the Austrians. The day before the siege was raised, the firing of the Prussians

Prussians continued as brisk as ever; and there was no appearance of their having any intention to depart. But in the night of the first of July, the whole Prussian army took the road to Bohemia in two columns, and gained an entire day's march upon the Austrians. So that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts that marechal Daun could make, to harraßs the king in his march, he advanced into Bohemia with little molestation, seized upon a large magazine at Leutomissel, defeated some bodies of Austrian troops who had attempted to disturb him in his progress, and arrived at Koningsgratz, one of the most important posts in Bohemia, with all his sick and wounded, and with all his baggage, artillery, and military stores. Of this place he made himself master, after driving from it a body of seven thousand Austrians, who were entrenched there; and he immediately laid the city, and several other districts, under contribution⁶¹.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

DURING these transactions, the Russian army, which was now commanded by general Fermor, marechal Apraxin having been removed from the command, had again entered the Prussian dominions, and committed great ravages in various parts of the country. Early in the year, general Fermor had taken possession of Koningsburg, the capital of Ducal Prussia, without opposi-

⁶¹ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 42, 43. Smollett, ut supra, p. 327, 328. Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 312.

tion;

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

tion⁶²; the Prussian troops having quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war against the Swedes, who had again commenced hostilities in the western parts of Pomerania. But general Fermor afterwards advanced towards Silesia, in order to co-operate with another body of Russian troops, commanded by general Browne, who had taken his route through Poland. By the first of July, both the bodies of Russian troops had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their Cossacks, penetrating into that province, had committed great ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation⁶³. But the Russian generals afterwards changed their route, and entered the New Marche of Brandenburg [1]; and they invested Cus-
TRIN,

⁶² Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 145.

⁶³ Smollett, ut supra, p. 329, 330.

[1] The prince-royal of Prussia died about a month before the Russians had entered the Prussian territories. He is said to have had a strong apprehension, that the conduct of Frederick would bring ruin upon the house of Brandenburg; and, when his physicians informed him, that he could not live more than twenty-four hours, he is reported to have written a long letter to the king his brother, containing a free remonstrance against some parts of his conduct; and in which letter were the following passages: 'In these critical hours, in which I am endeavouring to collect and to raise all the faculties of my soul, for a last exertion, I neither can, nor will, descend to my personal grievances. I leave to my sons the sorrowful satisfaction of hearing you regret, that you have been too
flow

TRIN, a fortified town, within fifty miles of
 Berlin. Count Dohna, with a body of Prussian
 troops

CHAP.
 XXVI.
 A. D.
 1758.

‘ flow in doing me justice. I leave it to my brothers, Henry
 ‘ and Ferdinand, to point out the difference that you ought
 ‘ to make, between the princes of your blood, and the rest of
 ‘ your subjects. Your courtiers will themselves do me justice.
 ‘ They have treated me with contempt: they have dared to
 ‘ post up libels against me. But when time shall have con-
 ‘ soled them for the expence of that mourning, which it will
 ‘ be necessary for them to put themselves to on my account,
 ‘ they will acknowledge my rights, and be sensible of the in-
 ‘ juries that they have done me. Perhaps, sire, I shall be too
 ‘ much avenged by my sons, by my brothers, by your friends.
 ‘ I foresee it; and it is in vain that I wish to exist only in the
 ‘ remembrance of your majesty. Yes, sire, the regrets of my
 ‘ brother will be sufficient, in my eyes, to expiate the faults
 ‘ of my king. I should willingly leave posterity in an error
 ‘ respecting my concerns.

‘ Though I have given some flight to my imagination, the
 ‘ slow fever which consumes me has not sufficiently enflamed
 ‘ my blood, to throw any disorder into my understanding.
 ‘ My ideas are arranged, and they produce themselves with
 ‘ order. I have a sight sufficiently strong, to follow Phaeton
 ‘ even to the utmost height of his course. Far from being
 ‘ dazzled by the rays which surround him, I see with a fixed
 ‘ eye the progress of his downfall, the false courses into which
 ‘ he deviates, the intractability of his horses, and his own
 ‘ embarrassment. And when I have ceased to reason upon
 ‘ the subject, I fix my attention upon the sorrowful spectacle
 ‘ of his fall, and upon the misfortunes of his family.

‘ Your majesty disdains my predictions. Like another Cas-
 ‘ sandra, I have seen the court, and the army, insult the genius
 ‘ which inspires me. But condescend to listen to me, sire,
 ‘ now that I cannot be suspected of any illusion, or deceit, in
 ‘ my auguries.

‘ *Fuimus*

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

troops under his command, who had for some time been employed in acting against the Swedes, who

Fuimus Troës. Fuit Ilium. There is an end, sire, of the power, and of the house of Prussia, if you continue to brave all Europe, confederated together against you. I am willing to consider you as superior to all the kings, whom a boisterous life has rendered famous. I admit, that, with the same destiny as theirs, you may always have the advantage of being less renowned by your fall, than by the great achievements you have made before that shall take place. Yes, it would be to degrade you, to compare you to the warlike kings of Sweden. Your forces are greater than those of Gustavus Adolphus; you have more knowledge and more prudence than Charles Gustavus; and your talents are more various than those of Charles XII. Nevertheless, your horoscope is more inauspicious than theirs. The first prevented by his death the inconstancy of fortune; the second died of chagrin, when he was upon the point of being humbled; the third, survived his grandeur and his glory. But their cause was less disadvantageous than yours. Charles XII. defended himself; you have attacked. His enemies were desirous to weaken him; yours have a right to ruin you. His enemies required indulgence of him; you have need of that of your enemies. He wanted to avenge himself; you are an object of vengeance. They feared his person, they were disarmed by his death: your enemies hate the power, and dread the house of Prussia. Your enemies cannot be appeased but by the destruction of the one, and the abatement of the other, Charles marched against three sovereigns who had defied him; you force all Europe to arm against you. The princes of it are leagued against your majesty by justice and by interest; and their subjects attach to your ruin the re-establishment of peace, the honour of sovereignty, the safety of monarchical government. The admiration

! that

who had again commenced hostilities, now attended the motions of the Russians ; but his force

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

was

‘ that your great actions inspire, is an astonishment followed
‘ by fear, and by grief. Men read in your success the slavery
‘ of the human race, the annihilation of laws, the degrada-
‘ tion of society.’ *Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Prusse*, edit.
8vo. Strasbourg, 1788, tom. II. p. 316, 317, 318.

In the above letter the prince also strongly remonstrates against the king’s treatment of the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony ; and speaking of the correspondence between the courts of Saxony and Vienna, published by Frederick, he says,

‘ The more you have proved that you were acquainted with
‘ the intentions of Saxony, the more odious have you ren-
‘ dered its invasion. It has been seen, that, in order to pro-
‘ cure this knowledge, your minister Malzham has degraded
‘ his character ; and that, by means proscribed in society, all
‘ that you have discovered is, that the king-elect of Saxony
‘ did not love the power of Prussia, that he feared it, and
‘ that he even dared to form projects to defend himself against
‘ it. Pieces which are stolen make against the accuser who
‘ produces them, if they do not prove the crime that they
‘ impute.’ *Ibid.* p. 325.

The prince likewise makes a variety of observations relative to the views and dispositions of the different courts of Europe respecting the king of Prussia ; and he remarks, that Hanover and England were Frederick’s only allies. On this alliance, he said, the king could not long depend ; for the English were sufficiently acquainted with geography to know, that ‘ there was but little communication between the Oder and the Ohio.’ Speaking of the czarina, he says, ‘ Russia is persuaded, that your designs upon her occasioned the applications that you made to the court of Vienna, to substitute a truce of two years in the room of a solemn treaty of peace. She believes, that you wanted to tie up the hands of the

‘ empress-

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

was not sufficiently considerable to oppose their progress. They carried on the siege of Custrin with great fury; and threw such a multitude of bombs and red-hot balls into that city, that in a short time it was on fire in every quarter. Some of the inhabitants were consumed in the flames, some buried in the ruins, and some killed by the balls, which fell like hail in the streets. The surviving majority, who found safety neither within nor without their houses, abandoned their homes and their substance, and fled, many of them almost naked, out of the city, on that side which was not invested [κ]. The governor, however,

‘empresse-queen, so as to put it out of her power to succour her ally; that a war against Russia was the principal object of your intrigues in Sweden; that you have designs upon Courland, and that Polish Prussia and Pomerania would be very convenient for you; that you find Russia the greatest obstacle to this rounding of your dominions; and, in short, she believes, that she has the same interest in your abasement as the house of Austria.’ He concludes with exhorting the king his brother, in very pathetic terms, to listen to terms of peace, and thereby to prevent the ruin of himself, of his people, and of his royal house. *Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Prusse*, ut supra, p. 327—332. But though this letter has been repeatedly printed, it appears not to be genuine. The Abbe Denina says, ‘The letter, which it has been said this prince wrote when dying to the king his brother, is only a satirical piece, forged in order to decry the conduct of the king.’ *Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II.* p. 153.

[κ] In the translation of a letter written by an inhabitant of CUSTRIN, who was resident in the city during part of the siege,

however, did every thing in his power, for the
 defence of the walls and ruins of the place; but
 the

CHAP.
 XXVI.
 A. D.
 1758.

siege, are the following passages: ' The enemy threw such a
 ' multitude of bombs and red hot bullets into the city, that
 ' by nine o'clock (in the morning of August 15,) it burnt
 ' with great fury in three different places, which could not
 ' be extinguished, as the houses were closely built, and the
 ' streets narrow. The air appeared like a shower of fiery
 ' rain and hail. The surprized inhabitants had not time to
 ' think of any thing, but of saving their lives, by getting
 ' into the open fields. I, as well as many others, had hardly
 ' time to put on my clothes. As I was leading my wife, with
 ' a young child in her arms, and driving my other children
 ' and servants before me, who were almost naked, having
 ' ever since the first fright run about as they got out of bed,
 ' the bombs and red hot bullets fell round about us; but,
 ' thank God, I and my family received no hurt. The bombs,
 ' in bursting, dashed the houses, and every thing that was in
 ' their way, to pieces. Thus I went out of one misery into
 ' another, leaving every individual thing behind me. Every
 ' body that could, got out of the town as fast as possible; and
 ' the crowd of naked, and in the highest degree wretched
 ' people, was vastly great. Among the women were many of
 ' distinction, who had neither shoes nor stockings, nor hardly
 ' any thing else on, thinking of nothing but of saving their
 ' lives. When I had seen my family in the open field, I en-
 ' deavoured to return to save something, if possible, but in
 ' vain. I could not force my way through the multitude of
 ' people, thronging out at the gate, some few with horses
 ' and carriages, and others with sick and bed-ridden on their
 ' backs. The bombs, cannon-balls, and red hot bullets, fell
 ' so thick, that every body thought themselves happy if they
 ' could escape. Many thousands are made miserable, inhabi-
 ' tants as well as strangers; for many from the open country,
 ' and

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

the walls, which were built in the old manner, did not promise a successful defence; the Russians had posted themselves in the suburbs; and in the firing of the town, the principal magazine of the besieged was blown up⁶⁴.

‘and defenceless towns in Prussia, Pomerania, and the New Marche, had fled hither with their most valuable effects, when the Russians entered the Prussian territories, in hopes of security; so that a great many, who were a little while ago possessed of considerable fortunes, are now reduced to beggary. On the roads nothing was to be seen but misery, and nothing to be heard, but such cries and lamentations, as were enough to move even the stones; as no one knew where to get a morsel of bread, nor what to do for farther subsistence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon filled. I staid till next day at Goltz, to wait the farther event of things; but was soon informed, that, amongst the other buildings, the great magazine, the governor’s house, the church, the palace, the store, and artillery houses, were destroyed. In short, the old and new town, the suburbs, and the great bridge over the Oder, as well as all the others, were reduced to ashes.’—‘The writings of all the colleges are entirely destroyed, as well as the valuable archives of the country; which is an immense loss.’—‘The fire was so furious, that the cannon in the store and artillery-houses were all melted; and the loaded bombs, and cartridges for cannon and musquets, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. After the bridges were consumed, the piles and sterlings were burnt to the water’s edge.’—‘The fury of the enemy fell almost entirely on the inhabitants; and they did not begin to batter the fortifications, except with a few shot, till the 17th, after the rest was all destroyed.’ London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 670, 671.

⁶⁴ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 51.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

THE king of Prussia, alarmed at the progress of the Russians in his dominions, now resolved to quit Bohemia, and to go himself in person to oppose them. On the twenty-fifth of July, he quitted his camp at Koningsgratz; and on the twenty-eighth he passed the Metau. He was somewhat harrassed in his march by detachments of Austrian troops; but, in several skirmishes, the Prussians had the advantage. On the first of August, the Prussian army arrived at Skalitz; and on the eleventh of the month encamped at Landshut. From thence the king set out with a detachment, and arrived at Franckfort on the Oder on the twenty-second. In a letter written the day after, by an officer who was with him, are the following passages: ‘Yesterday the king entered with us into this city. He rode before the cavalry, who followed him with drawn swords. None of us knew whether we were to stop here, or whether we were to proceed farther. But when the king came before the door of a house, wherein a clergyman’s widow lived, he commanded the men to halt, and ordered an adjutant to go in, and tell her that he intended to lodge there. The widow immediately appeared; and, kneeling, said, that her habitation was too mean for the reception of so great a monarch, as her rooms were small and inconvenient. The king raised her with great affability, and desired her to let him have

VOL. II.

I

‘one

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

‘ one of her best rooms. He then entered the
‘ house; but soon after came out again, and or-
‘ dered the troops to march. As they passed,
‘ we could distinctly hear every shot fired against
‘ Custrin. I observed, that the king took a
‘ pinch of snuff at every report; and even through
‘ that air of intrepidity, which never abandons
‘ this prince, I could perceive the sensations of
‘ compassion towards that unfortunate city, and
‘ an eager impatience to fly to its relief. After
‘ the troops had entered their quarters, the king
‘ partook of a *kalteschale* [L], with prince Mau-
‘ rice of Anhalt-Deßlau, and general Seidlitz.
‘ Orders were then given for our marching the
‘ following morning; but his majesty having
‘ afterwards received intelligence by one of his
‘ spies, we set out again at two in the morning.
‘ ’Till that time the king sat up writing in his
‘ chamber, accompanied by the prince and the
‘ general ⁶⁵.’

THE king proceeded on his march, and caused
a bridge to be thrown over the Oder at Gatavise;
over which his troops passed, and having made
a junction with the army under count Dohna, he

[L] This is said to be a kind of caudle, made of wine and
biscuit, with lemons and sugar.

⁶⁵ Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 258,
259. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great,
vol. I. p. 135, 136.

then

then took up his quarters at Golaſſan [M]. Here some of his huffars brought in ten or a dozen Cofſacks, whom they had taken priſoners. The king ſeemed ſtruck with the ſingularity of their appearance; and, after ſurveying them for ſome time with great attention, he ſaid to major-general Wedel, who was with him, ‘ Look at theſe men, and ſee againſt what ſtrange creatures I am obliged to fight.’ From Golaſſan the king proceeded to Dirmitzel, where he encamped; and, having joined his army under count Dohna, he made his diſpoſitions for attacking the Ruſſians the next day [N], which was the twenty-fifth of Auguſt.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

WHEN the Ruſſians received information of the approach of the king of Prussia, they abandoned the ſiege of Cuſtrin, and took poſt near the villages of Zwicker and ZORNDORFF. Frederick intended to wind round the left flank of their army, and to take them in the rear, by which he

[M] At this place the king reviewed ſome freſh Prussian troops, who had been quartered here, and obſerving them to be neatly dreſſed, and powdered, he ſaid, ‘ Theſe ſoldiers are finely powdered, and look extremely well. I have brought ſome with me who do not make quite ſo good an appearance; but they have been much uſed to the ſmell of gun-powder.’

[N] It is ſaid, that in the evening before the battle of Zorndorff, Frederick amuſed himſelf with correcting three ſtanzas of an ode of Rouſſeau, which he conceived to require ſome alterations. Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 259.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

hoped to throw them into confusion. But in this he found himself disappointed. General Fermor, who commanded the Russian army, had foreseen his purpose; and as the ground did not permit the Russians to extend greatly in length, they threw themselves into a square body, composed of four lines, forming a front almost equal on every side, and on every side surrounded by cannon and chevaux de frize⁶⁶. In this position the Russians, who were greatly superior in number to the Prussians, waited their attack.

THE battle began at nine o'clock in the morning, near the village of ZORNDORFF, about six miles from Custrin. The Prussians commenced the action by a fire of cannon and mortars, which rained on the right wing of the Russians, without the least intermission, for near two hours. Great havock was made by the fire of the Prussians; but the Russians sustained it with the utmost intrepidity. They fell in their ranks; and new regiments still pressed forward, to fill their places, and to supply new slaughter. But when the first line had fired away all their charges, they rushed forward so furiously on the Prussian infantry, that they compelled them to retire in disorder. This occasioned a considerable opening in the Prussian line, and left their whole left flank uncovered. At this critical period, general Seidlitz, with the

⁶⁶ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 51.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

cavalry under his command, rode up full gallop against the center of the Russian army, whereby he separated their two wings, and forced the left to fall back into the morasses that lay behind it.

Having routed the Russian cavalry, general Seidlitz fell upon the flank of their infantry with great fury: but they still continued to stand their ground [o], and terrible havock was made amongst them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but likewise by the cannon, which were loaded with grape shot, and being very ably

[o] In a letter from a general officer in the Prussian army, who was present in this action, published in the London Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 487, 488,) are the following passages: 'Fifteen-thousand of the Russians covered the field of battle; but while we thought ourselves secure of victory, they were yet preparing to dispute it.'—'The king's troops, far from being dispirited by the fatigues of the day, thought of nothing but signalizing themselves by their bravery. Animated more and more, they surmounted all difficulties, and at length overcame the obstinacy of the enemy. The setting sun terminated to our advantage the last massacre, by a shower of bullets, and an attack with the bayonets fixed at the end of the musquets. Then the great superiority of the enemies only served to augment their loss.'—'One might wonder at the disproportion of the loss on both sides, had we not observed, that the enemy's artillery was so ill served, that the balls went ten or twelve feet over our heads, only a few cannon, charged with cartridge shot, did some execution against us.'—'They give us more trouble in killing, than in overcoming them; for a shot through the body is not sufficient to make them leave off fighting, unless the vital parts are touched.'

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

served, did great execution. The distance of 2400 paces between the two lines of the Russian right wing, together with the dust and smoke, also hindered the Russians from distinguishing between their own men and the Prussians; so that great numbers of the Russians were killed by their own men⁶⁷. In this confusion some of them plundered their own baggage, intoxicated themselves with brandy, and mutinied against their officers. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that they would probably have been entirely routed, but one of the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turn against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right. The action lasted upwards of eleven hours, and the slaughter of the Russians was great; for the Prussians were much exasperated against them, on account of the ravages which they had committed in their country; and they are also said to have received orders to give the Russians no quarter⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Letter from a Swedish officer, who served in the Russian army, to general Hamilton, published in the *Grand Magazine*, vol. I. p. 589.

⁶⁸ *Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Prusse*, tom. II. p. 75.

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

THE king of Prussia remained the whole night, with his army, upon the field of battle, and took the necessary measures to improve the advantage that he had obtained. The next morning, he again advanced towards the enemy, and the cannonading was renewed. But it did not last long; for the Russians were obliged to continue their retreat, abandoning their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards⁷⁹. Frederick gave them no time to recover themselves, but caused them to be harrassed on all sides during the whole day, and a great carnage ensued. In the evening, the king caused his infantry to encamp, but ordered his cavalry and hussars to continue to pursue and harrass the enemy. The Russians afterwards encamped themselves advantageously three leagues from the field of battle, where they continued till the thirty-first of August, and then retreated towards Poland, by Lantberg, after setting fire to the greatest part of their baggage⁸⁰.

THE king of Prussia says, that the Russians lost, in the battle of Zorndorff, ‘ one hundred
‘ and three pieces of cannon, twenty-seven pair
‘ of colours and standards, eighty-two officers,
‘ among whom were five generals, about two
‘ thousand prisoners, and at least fifteen thousand

⁷⁹ London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 470, from the London Gazette Extraordinary of Sept. 8, 1758.

⁸⁰ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 341.

CHAR.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

‘ men left dead on the field ; for the cavalry gave them no quarter. The Prussian army lost M. Ziethen, general of the cuirassiers, sixty officers killed or wounded, and about twelve hundred men, with twenty pieces of cannon⁷¹.’ Among the officers killed were two aids du camp, who attended the person of the king, which he had exposed to all the dangers of the day. It is said, that Frederick often exposed himself to so much danger in his battles, that even the common soldiers sometimes exclaimed against it, and endeavoured to prevent it ; calling out to him, ‘ If your majesty is lost, we are all lost of course⁷².’ Besides the military trophies, which were taken from the Russians in the battle of Zorndorff [P], the Prussians also made themselves masters of the Russian military chest, which contained nine hundred thousand rubles⁷³. The king had a

⁷¹ Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome I. p. 309, 310.

⁷² Anecdotes and characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 25, 26.

[P] Frederick says, ‘ During the battle, and the succeeding day, it was a dreadful spectacle to see all the neighbouring villages in flames, which the Cossacks had set on fire, and who here brought with them every calamity with which human nature can be afflicted. The Prussian artillery, however, played with success, for it was almost impossible for the gunners to miss the great mass that the enemy formed ; while that of the Russians fired without the least effect.’ Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome I. p. 310, 311.

⁷³ London Mag. ut supra, from the London Gazette.

high sense of the importance of general Seidlitz's services in this action; and when the British minister, Sir Andrew Mitchel [Q], complimented

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

[Q] Dr. Zimmerman says, 'No foreign minister ever acquired Frederick's esteem and friendship to such a degree as the British ambassador, Sir Andrew Mitchel. He followed him through the whole of the seven years war, and stood often at his side in the most bloody battles. Near Zorn-dorff he was close to the king, when he attacked the formidable square, formed by the Russian army under general Fermor. The Russians fired with chain-shot upon that very spot where Frederick was with Mitchel. The king turned to him, and said, "My dear Mitchel, this is not your place." "Is it your's, fire?" answered Mitchel. "I am sent to your majesty, and my place is wherever you are pleased to be." Amidst this slaughter, near Zorn-dorff, Mitchel never left the king a moment, except towards the close of the battle, when he followed general Schwerin, who, with the regiment of gens d'armes made an attack upon some Russian infantry, and a great number of Cossacks. These troops had taken post in a village, and attempted to maintain it. Schwerin dispersed them, Two thousand Cossacks alighted, left their horses, and threw themselves into a large stone building near Quarzen, destined for the housing of sheep. Hence they fired through every hole, and absolutely refused to surrender themselves prisoners of war. At last the roof, under which lay a great deal of hay and straw, caught fire, tumbled down, and the gallant Cossacks were, every one of them, either choaked or burnt to death. I'll keep to myself the reflection which Mitchel made on this fire. Suffice it to say, that Mitchel never left the king, who scarcely ever loved any man like him, and was never more sincerely beloved than by this truly excellent Englishman.

' The

CHAP. mented him upon his victory, saying, ' Heaven
XXVI. ' has granted to your majesty another glorious
A. D. ' day,' Frederick replied, ' Without Seidlitz,
1758. ' it would have been a gloomy one ⁷⁴.'

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, general Fermor, who was slightly wounded in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded. He also presented to his Prussian majesty the request of general Browne [R], who was wounded, and much weakened by the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue

' The king was so very fond of his company in the seven years war, that often, many weeks together, he dined and supped with no one but Mitchel. The day before the glorious battle of Lignitz, fought at a period so dreadfully critical, Frederick entreated his friend Mitchel, as Cato did his in Utica, to withdraw from him. Mitchel burnt all his papers; for he thought that all was lost. But he did not leave the hero; who, by a complete victory over Laudohn, rescued himself once more from impending perdition.' *Select Views of the Life, Reign, and Character of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia*, translated from the German of Dr. Zimmerman, by Major Neuman, vol. I. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

⁷⁴ Anecdotes and characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 141.

[R] General Browne, who was second in command in the Russian army, was a Scotsman; and general Fermor, who had the chief command, was of Scottish extraction.

CHAP
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

of which he could be removed to a place, where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. Count Dohna returned an answer to the Russian general, in which he acquainted him, that as the king his master had gained the battle, and remained master of the field, he would not fail to give the necessary orders for burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides. A suspension of arms was declined, but the request of general Browne was granted; and the count concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in plundering and burning the Prussian villages. In the course of this campaign, the Cossacks are said to have been guilty of great cruelties, killing many of the inhabitants of the towns and villages, setting fire to their houses, and committing rapes upon their wives and daughters.

WHEN the king came to Custrin, he seemed much affected with the ruinous appearance of the city; and he said to some of the inhabitants, 'My children, I could not come sooner, or this misfortune should not have happened: have but patience, and I will cause every thing to be rebuilt.' The person who had been commandant at Custrin, when the Russians first came there, was understood not to have adopted the proper measures for the defence of the place. He was superseded; but when the king came to Custrin,

CHAP.
XXVI.
A. D.
1758.

Custrin, he presented himself before him, and endeavoured to apologize for his conduct. The king coolly replied: 'I make no complaints against you: it is myself who was chiefly to blame, in appointing you to such an office.'

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The king of Prussia, having defeated the Russians at Zorndorff, marches into Lusatia.—He is surprised by count Daun at Hochkirchen.—Death of marechal Keith.—Frederick encamps at Dobresehtz, and afterwards marches into Silesia, and raises the siege of Neiss, and that of Cosel.—Marechal Daun besieges Dresden, and part of the suburbs destroyed by the Prussian governor.—The king marches into Saxony, and raises the siege of Dresden.—Military operations of the Swedes.—Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of Leipfic.—Military operations in the electorate of Hanover, and in Westphalia.

IT was no sooner known by the Austrians, that the king of Prussia had quitted Bohemia, in order to oppose the progress of the Russians, than marechal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, marched towards the Elbe, with a view of surrounding the king's brother, prince Henry, and with the hope of making themselves masters of Saxony. Marechal Daun arrived with his army at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe; and by stationing himself there, he preserved to himself an easy communication with the army of the empire. He was also

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

also thereby enabled to interrupt the communication between Bautzen and Dresden, and to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the confines of Brandenburg. When the duke de Deuxponts had entered Saxony, he made himself master of the fortress of Koningstein, and took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. Prince Henry, who displayed the talents of a very able general, had also encamped himself in a most advantageous manner at Dippoldiswalda, so as to cover Dresden, and command the course of the Elbe; but, from the number of his enemies, his situation necessarily became extremely critical.

THE king of Prussia, who knew the dangers which threatened his brother, and the army under his command, immediately resolved, after the battle of Zorndorff, to march to his relief. On the second of September, he quitted his camp at Custrin, leaving the farther prosecution of hostilities against the Russians to be conducted by count Dohna. He marched with great rapidity, at the head of twenty-four battalions, and a considerable part of his cavalry; on the ninth of the month, he arrived at Grossen-hayn; and, two days after, he joined his brother near Dresden.

MARECHAL Daun, who had no expectations of this junction, now thought proper to give up the design which he had formed of attacking prince

prince Henry ; and, retiring from the neighbourhood of Dresden, he fell back as far as Zittau. General Laudohn abandoned all his advantages in Lower Lusatia, and drew near to marechal Daun ; while the army of the empire still kept possession of the strong post at Pirna, but without attempting any thing farther. Thus had the Prussian monarch, in the course of less than three weeks, by his extraordinary exertions, intrepid spirit, and indefatigable diligence, fought and defeated a superior body of his enemies, in one extremity of his dominions, and baffled, without fighting, another superior body in the other extremity, in their design of attacking prince Henry, and gaining possession of Dresden ⁷⁵.

AFTER various movements for protecting Brandenburg from the incursions of the Austrians, and cutting off their communication with Bohemia, Frederick took post in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, with his left at Bautzen ; from whence he could command both Misnia and Lusatia, and at the same time preserve a communication with the army of prince Henry ⁷⁶. The Prussian and Austrian armies kept the most watchful eye upon each other's motions. Matters were now brought to such a crisis, that a battle appeared inevitable, and equally desired

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

⁷⁵ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 54.

⁷⁶ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 315.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

by both parties; as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this state of affairs, marechal Daun resolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussian army by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of HOCHKIRCHEN, which was only guarded by a few free companies [s]. Having communicated his design to the prince de Deuxponts, he resolved to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his army in this important service. He took his measures with admirable secrecy and circumspection, making such movements as led the Prussians to suppose that he could have no design to attack them; and then set out at midnight, in a very dark and foggy night, with his troops in three columns, and marched towards the right of the king of Prussia's camp. The first care of the Austrian troops was to take possession of the hill that commanded HOCHKIRCHEN, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free

[s] The free companies were a kind of Militia, and generally much worse disciplined than the regular troops.

companies posted there [τ]. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, on the fourteenth of October, and continued several hours with great fury. For notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprize, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with extraordinary expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence⁷⁷. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the king exerted all his personal activity, sagacity, and military skill, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering

Surprize

[τ] One account says, that the march of the Austrians was made with so much secrecy and promptitude, that the Prussians perceived nothing of their danger, till the moment when they saw the enemy in their camp. It appeared, that the orders of the king for guarding the camp had been badly executed. The Prussians had scarcely time to lay hold of their arms. In the midst of the confusion, which was increased by the darkness of the night, some thousands of the Prussians passed from sleep to death, and many were killed by their own countrymen. But, at the break of day, the Austrians met with a very strong resistance. *Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 82, 83.*

⁷⁷ Smollett, ut supra, p. 337.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

positions, strengthening weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy⁷⁸.

THOUGH the Austrians made their chief attack upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, yet marechal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king of Prussia, made another attack upon the left, which was sustained with difficulty, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where marechal Keith opposed the enemy with the utmost gallantry, under the greatest disadvantages. At nine in the morning, that able general, who had before been wounded, received a second wound, which put an end to his life [v]. Prince Francis of Brunswick

⁷⁸ Smollett, ut supra, p. 337.

[v] Dr. Smollett says, that ' Field-marechal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the king on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Marechal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill, which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon. Then they made themselves masters of the village, in which the

free

wick also had his head shot off by a cannon ball, as he mounted his horse; prince Maurice of Anhalt

CHAP. XXVII.
A. D. 1758.

free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Marechal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general, and knowing the importance of the place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place. Being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspirit the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. The body of the marechal was afterwards stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation it was perceived by count Laschy, son of the general of that name, with whom marechal Keith had served in Russia,

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner; and many other officers were either killed or disabled. The Austrians continued to prosecute their attack with successive reinforcements, and redoubled resolution; so that, at about ten in the morning, Frederick found himself obliged to retreat to Dobreschutz, about half a league from the field of battle. But though the Prussian troops had never been properly drawn up in order, and were embarrassed by their tents, which continued standing during the whole action, the king's retreat was performed in good order, under the cover of a great fire from the Prussian artillery, which on this occasion was placed in the center of his van⁷⁹. The Austrians, however, took part of the king's baggage, all his tents, some military trophies, and many pieces of cannon. The loss of the Prussians in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to seven thousand; and the loss of the Austrians is said to have been not much inferior. Frederick himself was slightly

* This young count had been the marechal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognized the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Oczakow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered and interred.' Hist. of England, ut supra, p. 339, 340.

⁷⁹ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 348.

wounded

wounded in the action⁸⁰; and he sustained a great loss in the death of marechal Keith [x], who

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

⁸⁰ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, ut supra, p. 83.

[x] JAMES KEITH, who was the younger son of George Keith, earl-marshal of Scotland, was born in that kingdom, in the year 1698. He was initiated in the Latin language by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, well known for his excellent Rudiments of the Latin tongue; and was afterwards removed to the Marischal college at Aberdeen, which was founded by one of his ancestors. He was seventeen years of age at the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, in which he joined with his brother, the earl-marshal, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Being obliged to relinquish his country, he followed his brother into Spain, and obtained a commission in the Irish brigade in that kingdom, then commanded by the duke of Ormond. In this situation he continued ten years, when finding no opportunity of distinguishing himself, he obtained recommendations to Catharine I. empress of Russia, who received him with marks of particular favour, and gave him a commission of brigadier-general. He was afterwards made a major-general; and, in 1734, was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and went with the Russian troops into Germany. In 1737, he served against the Turks, and distinguished himself greatly at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. On the return of peace, the empress Anne sent him to the court of London, as her ambassador extraordinary. But when he appeared at court, he was obliged to assume the appearance of a Russian, both in dress and language; for king George II. would not permit him to speak at an audience without an interpreter. When he had finished his embassy, he returned again to Petersburg, where he was greatly cared for by the czarina. In 1741, and 1742, he commanded the Russian troops against the Swedes, and gained the battle of Wilmanstrand; and also dispossessed the Swedes of the isle of Aland in the Baltick.

CHAP. who had very distinguished military talents, and
 XXVII. for whom he had a great personal esteem and
 A. D. regard.
 1758.

THOUGH the king of Prussia had been surprized at HOCHKIRCHEN, in a manner so sudden and so unexpected, and though his loss had been considerable, yet the manner, in which he conducted

After the peace of Abo, in 1743, he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to compliment the king of Sweden on the election of a successor to the crown. But the splendour in which he appeared on this occasion at Stockholm greatly reduced his finances; and he was even obliged to pawn his jewels, to keep up the dignity of his appearance. On his return to Russia, he was honoured with a marshal's staff; but finding the pay of that country not sufficient to support his rank, he accepted of an invitation from the king of Prussia to enter into his service. In 1747, he quitted the Russian service, and entered into that of Prussia, as field-marshal; and in 1749, he was made a knight of the order of the black eagle, and governor of Berlin, with a pension of 12,000 dollars, besides his pay. He greatly distinguished himself in the Prussian service, in the campaigns of 1756, 1757, and 1758; but being killed at the battle of Hochkirchen, he was decently buried by the curate of that village. His body was afterwards removed to Berlin, by order of the king of Prussia, and interred with great funeral honours; and a statue was likewise erected to his memory in that city.

General Lloyd says of marshal Keith, that 'he was middle-sized, had a very martial countenance, and was a humane and benevolent man;' and count Algarotti says, that 'he had studied his profession with the judgment and penetration of an Englishman;' and that 'in the midst of arms, he always found means to cultivate letters.'

himself

himself on this occasion, afforded a new display of his abilities. His troops had been surprized and attacked in a dark night, and by superior numbers; and when they had recourse to their arms, they were almost naked, and in the utmost confusion; but they had notwithstanding made a most vigorous resistance, and maintained the fight for nearly five hours. The king himself exhibited uncommon generalship, as well as the utmost intrepidity; and he conducted his retreat in admirable order, and without being pursued by the enemy.

THE surprize of the king of Prussia at Hochkirchen was made a great subject of triumph at Vienna; and it even afforded no inconsiderable degree of satisfaction to the then pope, Clement XIII. who had been much pleased with the union between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, which he thought might be beneficial to the interests of the Catholic religion. He, therefore, sent his blessing to marechal Daun, together with a sword and a hat, on both of which he also bestowed his benediction. These marks of favour from his holiness to the Austrian general were a subject of much pleasantry to the Prussian monarch; who afterwards frequently stiled Daun 'the blessed general,' and 'the man with the 'papal cap.' But, in the midst of this facetiousness, Frederick appears to have had a great dislike to Daun; he was hurt at the advantages

CHAP.
XXVII.

A. D.

1758.

1758
 1758
 1758

which he had repeatedly gained over him; and seems, in his History of his own Times, to have been very little inclined to do justice to the military talents of this great general.

AFTER his surprize at Hochkirchen, Frederick remained with his army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement; but this, notwithstanding his late success, was declined by marechal Daun, who kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. In the mean time, the Austrian generals, Harsche and de Ville, had formed the siege of Neiss, and the blockade of Cosel; and as the king could not bring count Daun to an action, he resolved to march immediately to the relief of Silesia. Committing, therefore, the care of Saxony to his brother prince Henry, he quitted his camp at Dobreschutz, and marched to Gorlitz, without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual rapidity, notwithstanding all the activity of general Laudohn, who, with a corps of twenty-four thousand men, continually harraressed his rear-guard. Count Daun not only sent this detached corps to retard the king in his march, but, at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. Frederick, however, on his arrival at Neiss, obliged the Austrians to raise the siege, leaying a considerable quantity

of

of military stores behind them. He also compelled the Austrians to abandon the blockade of Cosel; and the armies, under the generals Harfche and de Ville, fell back into Bohemia.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

IN the mean time, count Daun having received intelligence, that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, by detachments that had been sent to the king, he himself marched thither, hoping, in the absence of Frederick, to be able to drive the prince out of that country. He had formed, indeed, designs which were still more extensive; for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipzig, and Torgau, at the same time. The first, with the main body under his own direction; the second, by the army of the empire under the prince de Deuxponts; and the third, by a corps under general Haddick. In execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna; and on the sixth of November he appeared within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men. He encamped the next day at Lockowitz, and the day following his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Streissen and Gruene-Wiese.

COUNT Schmettau, who commanded the Prussian garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, being apprehensive, that the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs, he posted colonel Itzenplitz,

plitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars.

But as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates, that they would be set on fire, as soon as a single Austrian should appear within the place. This was a very alarming declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which composed one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided; and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. The magistrates besought the forbearance of the Prussian governor, and represented, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. Such of the royal family as still remained at Dresden, also joined their supplications to those of the magistrates; and they implored him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and to allow at least a secure residence to those, who had been deprived of every thing else. But all entreaties were in vain. Count Schmettau told them, that their safety depended on marechal Daun; that if he made no attempts, the suburbs would be still secure; but that if he took any

farther

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

farther steps, the necessity of his master's service, and his own honour, would compel him to act in a manner that was very contrary to the lenity of his own disposition.

ON the ninth of the month, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack the next day, gave orders for setting fire to a part of the suburbs, which was executed at three in the morning. More than two hundred and sixty houses were reduced to ashes; a few persons also lost their lives, and many their whole substance [Y]. Marechal Daun remonstrated against the Prussian governor's conduct in this transaction; but he maintained, that he was justified in his conduct by the laws of

[Y] An account of this conflagration, with some considerable exaggerations, was presented by the Saxon minister to the diet of the empire. This piece was printed; but it was afterwards proved, that several of the facts stated in it were not true; and these exaggerations of the Saxon minister furnished the Prussian ministers with a plausible pretext, for exclaiming against the means, which, they said, were employed 'to blacken the Prussian cause.' It was the more impolitic in the Saxon minister to publish any misrepresentations upon the subject, as the conduct of the king of Prussia respecting Saxony certainly required no exaggeration.

War;

CHAP.
XXVII.
A.D.
1758.

war [z]; that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity; and that if the Austrian general should think proper farther to attack the place, he would defend himself from street to street, and from house to house, and would even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city.

THE conduct of the Prussian governor, as well as of his royal master, respecting this transaction, has been vindicated by several writers. If the suburbs had not been consumed, there would, it is said, have been danger, that the Austrians might have taken Dresden from the king of Prussia. It should, however, have been remem-

[z] Dr. Smollett says, that the Prussian governor ' excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorized by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations; but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand.' Hist. of England, ut supra, p. 343.

bered,

bered, that Dresden [A] did not belong to the king of Prussia, and that he had obtained possession
 CHXXV. A.D. 1758.

[A] The city of DRESDEN has never recovered from what it suffered during this war, in consequence of the invasion of the king of Prussia, and his bombardment of it, after it was taken possession of by the army of the empire. Dr. Burney says, 'During the reign of Augustus III. this city was regarded by the rest of Europe as the Athens of modern times. All the arts, but particularly those of music, poetry, and painting, were loved and cherished by that prince, with a zeal and munificence, greater than can be found in the brightest period of antient history. But, perhaps, some part of the late and present distresses of this country, have originated in this excessive magnificence. The gardens of the late minister, count Bruhl, which are situated on the banks of the Elbe, and open to the public, command a delightful prospect of that river, of its hilly and fertile banks, towards Pirna, and of the new town, and beautiful bridge, leading to it. A most magnificent and elegant temple in these gardens was reduced to a heap of rubbish, in which it still lies, during the Prussian bombardment; and the Saxons accuse his Prussian majesty of carrying personal resentment against their minister so far, as to order his engineer to point his artillery at the temple and other buildings, as well as statues in these gardens. However this may have been, not a street of this once charming city has recovered the devastations of the last war.' Present State of Music in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 59, 60, 61. edit. 1775.

In another place, the same ingenious writer, speaking of Dresden, says, 'Every one here is in the utmost indigence.— Most of the nobility and gentry are too much impoverished, to be able to afford to learn, or to let their children learn music. The Saxons of old, so remarkable for patience, industry, and probity, are now reduced to knavery and
 chicane,

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

session of it only by violence and by injustice. He could, therefore, have no right to consume the houses of the inhabitants, or to reduce them to indigence and misery, in order to answer a temporary purpose to himself. But, in many other instances, what are called the laws of war have been repeatedly urged, in vindication of acts of unnecessary and wanton barbarity; though if it be necessary that wars should be continued among mankind, and if it be proper that there should be LAWS OF WAR, it might notwithstand-

‘chicane, beyond the inhabitants of any other country. Dresden is at present a melancholy residence: from being the seat of the Muses, and habitation of pleasure, it is now only a dwelling for beggary, theft, and wretchedness. No society among the natives can be supported; all must retrench; the court is obliged to abandon genius and talents, and is, in turn, abandoned by them. Except the wretched comic opera, there is no one spectacle, but that of misery, to be seen at Dresden; no *guinguette*, no public diversion in the city or suburbs, for the people, and not a boat or vessel, either of pleasure or business, can be descried on the river Elbe, which is here nearly as wide as the Thames at London-bridge.’ Ibid. p. 58.

Dr. Burney also says of LEIPSIĆ, that ‘this city has not yet recovered its rigorous treatment during the last war; and its celebrated fair, which used to be the rendezvous of the rich, the gay, and the industrious citizens of every quarter of the globe, as well as an assembly of the sovereign princes and nobility of all the northern parts of Europe, seems now dwindled into a common mart, or quarterly fair, such as is held in a small English market town.’ Ibid. p. 72.

ing

ing be hoped, that, in an enlightened age, even these LAWS would undergo some revision, and be rendered more consonant to common sense, and common humanity.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A.D.
1758.

WHEN the king of Prussia had raised the sieges of Neifs and Cosel, he immediately marched back again into Saxony. At his approach, count Daun raised the siege of Dresden, where Frederick arrived on the twentieth of November, and expressed his approbation of the conduct of count Schmettau. The prince of Deuxponts also raised the siege of Leipzig, and both he and marechal Daun retired with their forces into Bohemia. The Austrian general, Haddick, was also obliged to abandon the siege of Torgau; as the Russians likewise were that of Colberg, in Prussian Pomerania, which they had invested in the course of their retreat, after the battle of Zorndorff. So that, by the extraordinary activity of the king of Prussia, and his generals, six sieges were raised nearly at the same time; that of Neifs, of Cosel, of Dresden, of Leipzig, of Torgau, and of Colberg²¹.

THE Swedes, in the course of this year, had recovered Swedish Pomerania, and even made incursions into the Prussian territories. Their general, count Hamilton, had advanced as far as Fehrbellin, and sent out parties that raised contributions within twenty-five miles of Berlin, and

²¹ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 62.

threw

CHAP. XXVII.

A. D.

1758.

threw the inhabitants of that capital into great consternation. General Wedel was thereupon sent by the king from Dresden to Berlin, to oppose the progress of the Swedes; and having assembled eleven thousand men, he proceeded at the head of them against the Swedish general; while the prince of Bevern, with five thousand, advanced on the other side from Stettin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with great resolution, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half their number, either killed or taken prisoners. After this, the body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and retired to the neighbourhood of Stralsund.

DR. Smollett, speaking of the military operations of Frederick, during the campaign of the year 1758, makes the following observations:

‘ The variety of fortune which the king of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign, we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories;

in

' in this, we admire his fortitude and skill in
 ' stemming the different torrents of adversity,
 ' and rising superior to his evil fortune. One
 ' can hardly without astonishment recollect, that
 ' in the course of a few months he invaded Mo-
 ' ravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to re-
 ' linquish that design; that he marched through
 ' an enemy's country, in the face of a great
 ' army, which, though it harrassed him in his
 ' retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred
 ' miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in
 ' spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficul-
 ' ties of such a march, he penetrated into Bo-
 ' hemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz,
 ' executed another dangerous and fatiguing
 ' march to the Oder, defeated a great army of
 ' Russians, and returned by the way of Saxony,
 ' from whence he drove the Austrian and Impe-
 ' rial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkir-
 ' chen, where he lost two of his best generals,
 ' and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he
 ' baffled the vigilance and superior number of
 ' the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind
 ' to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian
 ' army, which he compelled to retire with pre-
 ' cipitation from that province; that, with the
 ' same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to
 ' Saxony, and once more rescued it from the
 ' hands of his adversaries; that, in one cam-
 ' paign, he made twice the circuit of his domi-
 ' nions,

Vol. II. L

CHAP.
 XXVII.
 A. D.
 1758.

CHAP.

XXVII.

A. D.

1758.

nions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill, and undaunted resolution⁸².

FROM the beginning of the present war, Frederick had treated the inhabitants of Saxony with great injustice and inhumanity; and he now made the acts of cruelty and violence, which had been committed in his dominions by the Russians, a pretence for increasing the oppressions of the Saxons, and augmenting his exactions. On the twenty-second of September, M. Borck, president of the Prussian military directory, sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipzig, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand the magistrates represented, that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contributions before raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing farther supplies; and that the trade of the city was so ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could not even pay the ordinary taxes. But this remonstrance made no impression. On the twenty-fourth of the month, at five in the morning, the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets,

⁸² Hist. of England, ut supra, p. 347.

squares,

squares, and market-places of the city. The gates were afterwards shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city; and the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by general Haufs, who told them, that the king his master would have money; and, if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered. The magistrates replied, 'We have no more money; we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the king's mercy.' In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in the streets, and the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors; but the apprehended pillage was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and the inhabitants accordingly delivered up their money. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were still continued for some time in confinement⁸³.

CHAP.
XXV. II.
A. D.
1758.

ON the second of December following, the Prussian directory of war sent a decree to the deputies of the states of Saxony, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage; and also

⁸³ Smollett, ut supra, p. 347, 348.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

acquainting them, ' That though the king of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate of Saxony as a country which he had taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that his majesty would consider it, for the future, only as a conquered country, out of which he had driven his enemies by force of arms³⁴. The Russians had seized in Prussia the estates and effects belonging to the Prussian officers; and a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who served in the Russian army. All the revenues of the Saxon ministers were sequestered; and they were themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw in twenty-four hours. Fresh contributions were required of the inhabitants of Leipzig; and the king caused the exchange of that city to be surrounded with soldiers, and the merchants to be confined in narrow lodgings on straw beds, till they were obliged, by their sufferings, to draw bills for large sums on their foreign correspondents³⁵: a species of oppression and tyranny, of which Frederick appears to have been the inventor [B].

SUCH

³⁴ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 388.

³⁵ Annual Register, vol. I. p. 64. Entick, p. 388, 389. Smollett, p. 349.

[B] Dr. Smollett, speaking of the conduct of the king of Prussia on this occasion, says, that it was ' much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered

people

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

SUCH was the treatment which the inhabitants of Saxony received from the king of Prussia, who had declared, in the most solemn manner, when he entered their country, that he did it with no hostile views against his Polish majesty, or against his dominions; that his troops entered not Saxony as enemies; and that he marched them into it only for his own safety, and that of his dominions.

‘ people who professed a different faith, than reconcileable to
‘ the character of a Protestant prince towards a peaceable na-
‘ tion of brethren, with whom he was connected by the com-
‘ mon ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had
‘ acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in
‘ their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror
‘ ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered,
‘ who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his
‘ subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection.
‘ To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel,
‘ the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he
‘ was actually at war, and to treat as a conquered province a
‘ neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence,
‘ and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species
‘ of conduct founded on pretences, which overturn all right,
‘ and confound all reason.’ Hist. of England, ut supra, p. 349,
350.

Dr. Smollett, though, in sundry parts of his history, he has manifested himself to be a very exceptionable historian, has yet made many just remarks on the conduct of the king of Prussia, into whose transactions he has entered somewhat more copiously, than might naturally have been expected in a History of England. He seems to have thought, that as the people of England paid so much for their connexion with the king of Prussia, they had the better claim to accurate information respecting his transactions.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

It has been pretended, that Frederick's treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony was justified by the necessity of his affairs. But it is certain, that no necessity subsisted which could justify such conduct as that which he exhibited; and whatever necessity there was, had been created by himself, and cannot, therefore, be justly urged in extenuation of his conduct.

IN the course of this year, Frederick also laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution; and having received information, that the duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the duke himself was obliged to retire to Lubeck. This prince afterwards presented a memorial by his minister to the diet at Ratisbon, in which he stated, that the Prussians had ravaged his country, and distressed it by grievous extortions; and that they had demanded such quantities of provisions, such exorbitant sums of money, and so many recruits, that his territories were greatly impoverished, and almost depopulated by these oppressions [c].

EARLY

[c] In a piece published about this time, by the court of France, is the following passage: 'The Prussians have entered the territories of the duke of Mecklenburgh sword in hand, without any reason, and in contempt of the public peace.

' The

EARLY in the present year, the Hanoverian troops under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who was reinforced by a body of Prussian horse, had great success against the French in the electorate of Hanover. They pushed the French from post to post, and obliged them to evacuate successively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden. The town and castle of Hoya, on the Weser, where the French attempted to make a stand, were also reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunswick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the same river, and made prisoners a garrison of four thousand men⁸⁶. An English Squadron, under the command of commodore Holmes, also compelled the French to abandon Embden, a seaport in East Friesland, which they had taken from the king of Prussia.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

THE duke de Richelieu, who had commanded the French troops in Germany, was now recalled from thence, and his place supplied by the count

'The duke they have obliged to seek refuge at Lubeck; they have taken possession of the fortresses; and by despotic orders, without any payment, have caused themselves to be supplied with the corn and forage. The young men have been forced away from their parents, to enlist them, and make them fight against their own sovereign. In a word, without the slightest complaint against the duke of Mecklenburgh, his dutchy is treated by the Prussians like a conquered country.' Annual Register, vol. I. p. 206.

⁸⁶ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 304.

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

de Clermont, much to the satisfaction of the Hanoverians, among whom Richelieu was charged with having committed many acts of rapine and oppression. The new general found the French army greatly reduced, by the accidents of war, and diseases occasioned by hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries [D]. As he could not, therefore, prevent prince Ferdinand from executing his designs, nor even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, the French troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind them all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, who fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued. The inhabitants of Hanover, finding that the French intended to abandon that city, were apprehensive of being subjected to violence and insult; but they were happily disappointed by the benevolent behaviour of the duke de Randan, the French governor.

[D.] In a letter written by a gentleman at Zell to his friend at London, dated March 9, 1758, which was published by Mr. Entick, is the following passage: The French sent, last year, 119,000 men from France, and now they have not 46,000 left. The rest died in the hospitals, or fell in battles and skirmishes. Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 134.

CHAP.
XXVII.
ACD.
1738.

This amiable nobleman, when he had orders to evacuate the place, instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, ordered the whole to be either sold, at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city. He also employed all his vigilance to prevent his soldiers from committing any act of irregularity or violence, and was himself the last man that marched out of the town. So meritorious was his conduct, that he received a letter of thanks for it from the regency of Hanover; and when a day of thanksgiving was appointed, on account of their being delivered from their enemies, the Hanoverian clergy particularly celebrated in their sermons the benevolence and generosity of the duke de Randan³⁷.

THE French army having passed the Rhine, prince Ferdinand also passed that river, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologne, with the loss of seven thousand men, and many officers of distinction. Prince Ferdinand soon after made himself master of Dusseldorff, and afterwards put his army into winter-quarters, in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim³⁸. His army had been previously joined by a body of British troops, who had landed at

³⁷ Smollett, p. 311, 312. Annual Register, vol. I. p. 35.

³⁸ Hist. of Modern Europe, ut supra.

³⁹ Hist. of Modern Europe, p. 307—310.

Embsen;

CHAP.
XXVII.
A. D.
1758.

Embsden; but they arrived too late to have any opportunity of signalizing themselves in the field, during that campaign; and their commander, the duke of Marlborough, died soon after of a dysentery at Munster.

ON the seventh of December, 1758, the third treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was concluded at London, by which his Britannick majesty agreed to pay to the king of Prussia a second subsidy of 670,000*l.* sterling, to be paid in one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications. It was again stipulated, that neither party should conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or other convention, but by common advice, and mutual consent.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Frederick sends a body of troops into Poland, and destroys the magazines of the Russians in that country.—The magazines of the Austrians, in Bohemia, also destroyed by prince Henry of Prussia.—Manifestoes published by count Dobna, on his entering Poland, at the head of a Prussian army.—Battle of Zulichau.—Battle of Kunersdorff.—General Finck surrounded, and taken prisoner, with near fifteen thousand Prussians under his command, at Maxen.—Military operations of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.—Declaration of their Britannick and Prussian majesties to the several belligerent powers.—Frederick's declaration relative to the removal of his prisoners to Spandau.

THE king of Prussia had found the Russians an enemy so extremely formidable, that he thought it necessary to exert himself to the utmost, to impede their progress, and to prevent the success of their operations against him. He was particularly attentive to cutting off their means of subsistence; and accordingly having received information, that large magazines had been erected for their use in Poland, he detached, about the middle of February, 1759, forty-six squadrons, and twenty-six battalions, under general Woberfnow, from Glogau in Silesia, who entered

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1758.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1758.

tered Poland, and destroyed several immense magazines belonging to the Russians. One in particular, which was at Posna, and which was guarded by two thousand Cossacks, is said to have contained as much flour, as would have fed fifty thousand men for three months⁹⁹. In this expedition, the Prussians also attacked the castle of prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, who had interested himself against the king of Prussia, compelled him to surrender, and carried him and his garrison prisoners into Silesia [E]. They also loaded three hundred waggons with provisions and forage, which he had collected for the Russians⁹⁹.

⁹⁹ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. III. p. 454, 455.

[E] In one of the accounts published of this transaction, it is said, that 'the Prussians raised contributions as far as Posna, that they destroyed the Russian magazines, and carried off by force from his estates prince Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, and conveyed him as a prisoner to Glogau, with his guard, which consisted of two hundred men. His crime was, that he was suspected of having raised these two hundred men for the Russian army.' *Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse*, tom. II. p. 93. Prince Sulkowski, as a Pole, had as much right to act against the king of Prussia, as for him; and the rather, as his own prince, the king of Poland, was in alliance with the Russians, and had been driven out of his electoral dominions by the Prussian monarch. The conduct of Frederick, therefore, in conveying in such a manner out of his own country, and from his own estates, a man of high rank, whose only crime was having attached himself to the cause of his own sovereign, appears to have been in a very high degree unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical.

⁹⁹ Id. *ibid*.

ABOUT the latter end of March Frederick himself assembled his army at Rhonstock, near Striegau, and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landshut, in Silesia, encamped at Bolchenhayn. In the mean time, the Austrian army, under the command of marechal Daun, assembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of the Austrian general Beck, who surprized and made prisoners a battalion of Prussian grenadiers, posted under colonel Duringseven, at Greiffenberg, on the frontiers of Silesia. But this advantage, gained by the Austrians, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and success of prince Henry of Prussia, who commanded the army which had wintered in Saxony. In the month of April, he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the pass of Peterwalde, destroyed a magazine of the Austrians at Aufsig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, seized the provisions and forage which they had collected at Loboschutz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a new bridge which they had erected for their own convenience. At the same time, general Hulsen attacked the pass of Pafsberg, which was guarded by the Austrian general Renard, who was taken by the Prussians, with two thousand men, including fifty officers⁹¹. One of the Austrian magazines, which was de-

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1758.

⁹¹ Smollett's Hist. of England, from the Revolution, vol. V. p. 95, 96.

stroyed

CHAP. stroyed by the Prussians, was at Budin, where the
 XXVIII. flames spread, and reduced the town to ashes;
 A. D. though prince Henry is said to have done all in
 1758. his power to extinguish the fire⁹².

THE Prussians having now filled Bohemia with alarm and consternation, raised heavy contributions in the country, and made great destruction of the Austrian magazines [F], prince Henry returned to Saxony, and distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment in the neighbourhood of Dresden. But they were again put in motion in a few days, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence prince Henry continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the seventh of May, and next day sent a detachment to attack general Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialists at Asch, and who sustained the charge with great courage; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince de Deuxponts, retreated, as the Prussians advanced,

⁹² Entick, ut supra, p. 459.

[F] The Prussians are said to have destroyed, in the Austrian magazines, in this expedition, 35,486 tons of meal; 37,400 loaves of bread, of 4lb. weight each; 136,820 Berlin measures of oats; and 86,300 rations of hay, of 8lb. weight each.

⁹³ Entick, ut supra, p. 459.

and abandoned the rich bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg to contribution. The town of Bamberg surrendered upon terms; but some confusion happening before the capitulation was completed, a party of Croats fired upon a party of Prussians, who had advanced towards one of the gates. This was resented as an infringement of the capitulation, and was made a pretence for plundering the place. It was given up to pillage, by order of the Prussian commanders, for two days, in a very cruel and licentious manner; and the conduct of the Prussians, in this transaction, was loudly and justly censured throughout Europe⁹¹.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1758.

In the beginning of the month of June, the king of Prussia having received information, that the Russians, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines, had begun their march from the Vistula, ordered the several bodies of his troops, under the generals Hulsen and Woberfnow, to join the forces under count Dohna, and to march into Poland [c]. Accordingly they advanced to Meritz,

⁹¹ Annual Register, vol. II. p. 10. Entick, ut supra, p. 460.

[c] One of the king of Prussia's biographers, speaking of this march of the Prussian troops into Poland, says, 'It is astonishing to find in Europe, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a state, whose dominions are more extensive than those of France or of Germany, yet so destitute of fortres, and of the means of defence, as to suffer its neighbours to enter

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1758.

Meritz, where the Prussian general published the following manifesto :

His Prussian majesty, finding himself under a necessity to cause part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them against the threatened invasion of the enemy, declares, that it must not be understood that his majesty, by this step taken, intends to make any breach in the regard, which he has always had for the illustrious republic of Poland, or to lessen the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between them; but, on the contrary, to strengthen the same, in expectation that the illustrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is desired. The nobility, gentry, and magistracy, in their respective districts, between the frontiers of Prussia, so far as beyond Posna, are required to furnish all kinds of provisions, corn, and forage, necessary to support an army of forty thousand men, with the utmost dispatch, with an assurance of being paid ready money for the same. But if, contrary to expectation, any

enter the provinces of it at their pleasure; and that a single general, at the head of a few regiments, can support himself in it as long as he thinks proper; or, at least, till the general of some other power comes and drives him out.' *Vie de Frédéric II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 93.*

deficiency

* deficiency should happen in supplying this de-
 * mand, his majesty's troops will be obliged to
 * forage, and use the same means as those taken
 * by the enemy for their subsistence. In confi-
 * dence, therefore, that the several jurisdictions
 * upon the Prussian frontiers, within the territo-
 * ries of Poland, will exert themselves to comply
 * with this demand as soon as possible, for the
 * subsistence of the royal army of Prussia, they
 * are assured, that thereby all disorders will be
 * prevented, and whatever is delivered will be
 * paid for in ready money.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

Two days after, count Dohna published the following declaration: 'It was with the greatest astonishment, that the king, my most gracious lord and master, heard that several of his own subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced from their allegiance so far, as to enter into the service of a potentate with whom he is at war. His majesty, therefore, makes known by these presents, that all of his subjects serving in the enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country.'

A FEW days after, the Prussian general also published the following manifesto: 'We invite and desire, that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, abbeyes, convents, seignories, magistrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Po-
 VOL. II. M land,

CHAP.

XXVIII.

A. D.

1759.

land, on the road to Posenia, and beyond it, would repair in person, or by deputies, in the course of this week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian head-quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commissary at war, for the delivery of forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

We promise and assure ourselves, that no person in Poland will attempt to seduce the Prussian troops to desert; that no assistance will be given them in such perfidious practices; that they will neither be sheltered, concealed, nor lodged; which would be followed by very disagreeable consequences. We expect, on the contrary, that persons of all ranks and conditions will stop any runaway or deserter, and deliver him up at the first advanced post, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the same shall be paid; and a reasonable gratification superadded.

If any one hath an inclination to enter into the king of Prussia's service, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head quarters, and be assured of a capitulation for three or four years.

If any prince, or member of the republic of Poland, be disposed to assemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Prussian army, to make a common cause

with

with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be shewn to his merit²⁴.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

FROM Meritz count Dohna continued his march towards Pofna, where he found the Russian army, which was now under the command of count Soltikow, strongly encamped, having in their rear that city, and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a great number of cannon. In this situation, count Dohna judged it to be impracticable to attack them, with any prospect of success. He, therefore, contented himself with watching their motions, and endeavouring to intercept their convoys to the eastward: but, for want of provisions, was, in a short time, obliged to return himself towards the Oder. The Russians then advanced towards Zulichau, in Silesia. The king of Prussia now began to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his general, count Dohna. He, therefore, superseded him, and conferred the command on Wedel, who was lately advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general. Count Dohna appears to have been a brave, and a skilful officer, but the king thought him somewhat too cautious; and, indeed, he seems not to have been quite so ready as his royal master, to sacrifice the lives of his men, when there was little prospect of obtaining any advantage.

²⁴ Annual Register, vol. III. p. 231, 232, 233.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

GENERAL Wedel, who was now invested with the command, received positive orders from the king, at all events, to engage the Russians. They had arrived at ZULICHAU, and intended to proceed from thence to Crossen in Silesia, in order to get before the Prussian army, and to make good the passage of the Oder. The Russian army amounted to seventy thousand men, and the Prussians did not exceed thirty thousand. General Wedel, however, attacked the Russians, with great vigour, at KAY, near ZULICHAU, on the twenty-third of July. But, after a very obstinate engagement, the Prussians were repulsed with the loss of between four and five thousand men.

AFTER the battle of Zulichau, the Russians made themselves masters of the town of Crossen. They afterwards penetrated far into the Prussian territories, and took possession of Franckfort upon the Oder. The king of Prussia had been employed, for a considerable time, in watching the motions of marechal Daun; but he now resolved to march himself in person to oppose the progress of the Russians; and this he judged to be the more necessary, in order to prevent a junction between them and the Austrians. Accordingly he set out from his camp in Silesia, with a select body of ten thousand men, in order to take upon him the command of general Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped, under

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

under the command of his brother prince Henry. Marechal Daun, being apprized of Frederick's intention, and knowing the Russians to be very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse to join them, under the command of general Laudohn; and these, penetrating through Silesia and Lusatia, though not without some loss, arrived in the Russian camp at this very critical juncture⁹⁵.

THE king of Prussia joined general Wedel at Muhldrofe, where he assumed the command of the army; but finding it greatly inferior to that of the Russians, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached some time before, with a body of nine thousand men, to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in Saxony. But, even with this reinforcement, the Prussian army did not quite amount to fifty thousand men, while that of the Russians, since the junction of general Laudohn, was not much less than ninety thousand. They had chosen a strong camp, at the village of KUNERSDORFF, almost opposite to Franckfort upon the Oder; and they had increased the natural strength of their situation by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. Notwithstanding these accumulated disadvantages, the king of Prussia determined to hazard an attack.

⁹⁵ Smollett, ut supra, p. 100. Annual Register, vol. II, p. 24, 25.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

THE Prussian army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the Russians, on the twelfth of August; and, at eleven in the forenoon, the action was begun with a severe cannonade. This having produced the desired effect, the king of Prussia charged the left wing of the Russian army with his best troops formed in columns. After a very obstinate contest, the Russian intrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Prussians. A narrow defile was afterwards passed, and several redoubts, that covered the village of KUNERSDORFF, were taken by assault. At that village, the Russians made a firm stand; but they were overborne by the impetuosity of the Prussians, who drove them from post to post, up to the last redoubts which they had to defend. The Russians, however, kept their ground, till they were hewn down in their ranks; and this success, therefore, was not obtained by the Prussians, but with infinite labour, and at a great expence of blood.

AFTER a furious engagement of six hours, fortune seemed to declare so much in favour of the Prussians, that the king dispatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: 'Madam, we have driven the Russians from their intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory.' But this intimation was premature. The Russians, though staggered, and

broken,

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A.D.
1759.

broken, were not routed. Count Soltikow found, that his left wing, though shattered, was more entire than any other part of his army. He, therefore, assembled the remains of his right, and gathering as many as he could from the center, reinforced his left wing, and made a stand at a redoubt, which had been erected on an advantageous eminence, called 'the Jews burying ground.' Here the Russians again stood in order of battle, with the most resolute countenance, favoured by the situation, which was naturally difficult of access, and now rendered almost impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery. It is said, that the Prussian generals were unanimously of opinion, that it would be imprudent at that time to push any farther the advantages which they had obtained. They represented to the king, that their adversaries were still very numerous, and their artillery considerable; that the post which they occupied was of great strength; that his brave troops, who had been engaged for so long a time, in one of the severest actions ever known, and in one of the hottest days that was ever felt, were too much exhausted for a new attempt, and an attempt of such extreme difficulty; that the advantage he had already gained would be as decisive in its consequences as that of Zorndorff; and that the enemy would be obliged immediately to retire into Poland, and to leave him at liberty to act in

CHAP. other quarters, where his presence was equally
XXVIII. necessary.⁹⁶

A.D.

1759.

THESE reasons were forcible, and at first seemed to make some impression upon the king; but, in a few moments, he resolved to make another effort, and again put all to the hazard. His infantry, still resolute, and animated by their late success, were led on to a new attack. But the enterprize was beyond their strength! The situation of the Russians was impregnable; and their artillery repulsed the Prussian battalions with great slaughter. The Prussian infantry, however, were brought to a second attack, and were a second time repulsed; and with still greater loss. The cavalry then succeeded to the attack, and repeated their unsuccessful efforts, till they were almost broken, and entirely exhausted.

At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Austrian and Russian cavalry, under general Laudohn, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore fresh, and in spirits, fell in among the Prussian horse with great fury, broke their line at the first charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into such disorder as could not be repaired. The Prussian army being thus involved in confusion, was soon after totally defeated, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hottest parts of the battle, led on his

⁹⁶ Annual Register, ut supra.

troops three times to the charge, had two horses killed under him, and his clothes in several places penetrated with musquet-balls [H]: His army being routed, and general Seidlitz, and most of his other generals, being disabled by wounds, he was reluctantly compelled to abandon the field of battle [I]; and he then dispatched another

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

[H] Dr. Smollett, speaking of this battle, says, 'It must be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own person, he was likewise very free with the lives of his subjects. At no time, since the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the lives of men squandered away with such profusion, as in the course of this German war. They were not only unnecessarily sacrificed in various exploits of no consequence, but lavishly exposed to all the rigour and distemper of winter-campaigns, which were introduced on the continent, in despite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the improvements of warriors without feeling! such the refinements of German discipline!' Hist. of England, ut supra, p. 103, 104.

Voltaire also, after giving some account of the battles which were fought in Germany at this period, says, 'What was the result of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital, at this day, is tedious to those who there signalized themselves? What remains after so many battles? Nothing, but blood spilt to no purpose in uncultivated and ruined countries, villages destroyed, and families reduced to beggary.' Age of Lewis XV. ch. 33.

[I] The king is said to have been much assisted in his retreat by general Finck, who had distinguished himself in the action, in which he was wounded. Captain Tielke says, that General Finck displayed such zeal, knowledge, and capacity, in collecting the troops, forming them again, repairing the disorder, and covering the retreat of the army, that the king

CHAP. XXVIII.
A. D. 1759.
another billet to the queen, containing these words: 'Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy'⁹⁷.

THE night, and the prudent use of some eminences, which were defended as well as the circumstances would admit, preserved the Prussian army from total ruin. But they lost eighty pieces of cannon; and the number of their killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to ten thousand. General Putkammer was killed; and the lieutenant-generals Seidlitz, Finck, Wedel, Hulsen, and Itzenplitz, were among the wounded; as was also the prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals. Among the wounded officers of inferior rank, was major Kleist, who is esteemed one of the best German poets. He had greatly distinguished himself in the action, and died of his wounds a few days after. The loss of the Russians was also so great, that count Soltikow is reported to have said, after the action, 'If I should gain such another victory, I may

'king told him, he would be a second Turenne.' Account of some of the most remarkable events of the War between the Prussians, Austrians, and Russians, &c. translated from the German, by the captains Charles and Robert Crawford, vol. I. p. 210.

⁹⁷ Annual Register, and Smollett, ut supra.

‘ go alone, with my truncheon in my hand, to
 ‘ carry the news to Petersburg⁹⁸.’

CHAP.
 XXVIII.
 A. D.
 1759.

THE Prussian troops, early in the morning after the battle of KUNERSDORFF, returned to the camp which they had occupied before, about two leagues from the field of battle. In a letter, said to be written by a Prussian officer of distinction, who was present in the action, is the following passage: ‘ I saw the king, the morning after the battle, stretched upon a little straw, reposing among the ruins of a farm-house, which had been destroyed by the Cossacks. He slept, with as much soundness and tranquility, as if he had been in the securest place. His hat covered half his face, and his sword drawn lay by his side. Two adjutants were at his feet, sleeping on the ground. A single grenadier stood sentinel. This monarch seems to have sleep and repose in his own power, as well as presence of mind. As soon as he is out of the reach of arms, the idea of his own superiority, and his confidence in his own good fortune, so take possession of him, that he no longer sees any danger; but delivers himself up to repose with as much security, as if the enemy were at twenty leagues distance⁹⁹.’

⁹⁸ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 99.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 98, 99. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 44, 45.

CHAP.

XXVIII.

A. D.

1759.

THE king soon after repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin. He was apprehensive, that the Russians would have immediately proceeded to Brandenburg; but they were not very active in making the most of the victory that they had obtained [κ]; and he himself soon removed from Retwin to Fustenwalde, and stationed himself in such a manner, that they did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. In a few days after his defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He had re-assembled and refreshed his broken troops; he had furnished his camp with cannon from the arsenal at Berlin; and he recalled general Kleist, whom he had sent with five thousand men into Pomcrania. He watched the motions of the Russian army so assiduously, that count Soltikow, instead of entering Brandenburg, marched into Lusatia. There he joined the grand Austrian army, under marechal Daun; and the two generals held consultations together concerning their future operations.¹⁰⁰

[κ] Frederick says, that when count Soltikow, the Russian general, was pressed by marechal Daun to pursue his operations with ardour, he replied, ‘ I have done enough, sir, for one year. I have gained two victories, which have cost Russia twenty-seven thousand men. I wait, before I put myself again into action, till you have gained two victories in your turn. It is not just, that the troops of my sovereign should act alone.’ Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 38.

¹⁰⁰ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

FREDERICK never appeared greater, than after any remarkable adverse stroke of fortune. In such cases, he generally excited the astonishment of mankind, by the celerity with which he recovered his losses, by the wonderful resources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his spirit. After the battle of Kunersdorff, when his friends, as well as his enemies, were of opinion, that the Russian and Austrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they chose first to subdue, as a prelude to the conquest of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defensive; and, at the same time, detached a body of six thousand men, under general Wunsch, in order to oppose the progress of the Imperialists in Saxony¹⁰¹.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

DURING the time that the king had been employed against the Russians, the army of the empire had entered into Saxony, and made themselves masters of Halle, Wittemberg, Leipzig, and Torgau; and soon after Dresden also surrendered to the Imperialists. But the detachment under general Wunsch retook Leipzig on the twenty-first of September; and having joined general Finck, who was sent with another body of troops into Saxony, these Prussian generals repulsed the army of the empire at Corbitz, though supported by a body of Austrians under general Haddick, and recovered every place in

¹⁰¹ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 345.

that

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

that electorate except Dresden¹⁰². Prince Henry of Prussia now quitted a camp which he had occupied, at Hornsdorff, near Gorlitz, in Lusatia, and marched with extraordinary celerity into Saxony, where he joined the generals Finck and Wunsch. This rapid march obliged count Daun also to quit his camp in Lusatia, and to separate his army from that of count Soltikow, in order to protect Dresden. After the Austrian and Russian armies were thus separated, the king found, that it was the intention of the Russians to besiege Great Glogau; but he took post between them and that city in such a manner, as totally to frustrate their design; and they soon after retired into Poland. They appear to have been much distressed for want of provisions, and they received an offer of money from the court of Vienna; but to this offer count Soltikow replied, 'My soldiers do not eat money'¹⁰³.

By the retreat of the Russians into Poland, the king of Prussia finding himself disengaged from a very formidable enemy, marched immediately into Saxony, and there joined his brother prince Henry, near Torgau, on the second of November, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian generals. On this junction the army of the empire retired, and marechal Daun retreated towards Dresden, as well to cover that city, as to keep open his com-

¹⁰² Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

¹⁰³ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 102.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

munication with Bohemia. The whole Austrian cavalry was posted in the plain between Plauen and Dresden; the right wing extending to the suburb of that city, and the left wing to the village. As this advantageous position made an attack upon the Austrian army almost impracticable, the king endeavoured to oblige marechal Daun to quit it, and to retire towards Bohemia, by rendering his communication with that country very difficult, and cutting off his means of subsistence. To this end he sent colonel Kleist with a body of light troops into Bohemia, who destroyed many magazines, and levied considerable contributions.¹⁰⁴

SHORTLY after, Frederick detached lieutenant-general Finck, with nineteen battalions, and thirty-five squadrons, to take possession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Austrians into Bohemia. But the Prussian general had no sooner taken post upon the heights near the village of MAXEN, than marechal Daun sent officers to reconnoitre his situation, and immediately resolved to attack him with the corps de reserve under the baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippoldiswalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through

¹⁰⁴ Tielke's Account of some of the most remarkable Events of the War between the Prussians, &c. ut supra, p. 4, 5.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

the neighbouring woods; and the Prussians had no apprehension of the approach of the Austrians, till they saw themselves almost entirely surrounded. In this emergency, they defended themselves with their cannon and musquetry till they were overpowered by numbers, and their batteries were taken. Then they retired to another rising ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their last retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, count Daun had made such dispositions, that at day-break general Finck found himself so completely enclosed, that he conceived no possibility of escape remained for him. He endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms; and at length general Finck himself, eight major-generals, and all his troops, amounting to nearly fifteen thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Upwards of sixty pieces of cannon, forty-four ammunition waggons, twenty-four standards, and ninety-six pair of colours, also fell into the hands of the Austrians on this occasion.

GENERAL Finck was esteemed a brave and a skilful officer; but in this transaction he seems to have been deficient either in judgment or in vigilance [L]. General Hulsén had been detached,

[L] Some writers have supposed, that the king of Prussia himself was chiefly to blame in this business; by detaching so numerous

tached with nine battalions, and thirty squadrons, to his assistance; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any service; and, being recalled,

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

numerous a body of troops to a situation, where they could not be sustained by the rest of his army. But, on this subject, the captains C. and R. Crawford have made the following remarks, in their notes on Tielke's 'Account of some of the most remarkable events of the War between the Prussians,' &c. p. 13, 14. 'Although many people may with justice deem it a fault in the king, that he did not immediately post a considerable corps at Dippoldiswalda, exclusive of general Finck's corps, yet every person, who is acquainted with the country, and has any knowledge of the military art, must behold with admiration the boldness and justness of the king's manœuvre, in detaching general Finck to Maxen: a manœuvre, which deserves as much to be admired as any of the other great actions of this consummate general; and which, had it been as well executed as conceived, would have been attended with the most important and brilliant success. For had general Finck maintained his post till general Hülßen arrived, (which he could have done by occupying the ground properly) marechal Daun would then have been unable to drive the Prussians from the neighbourhood of Maxen; and, as by this position they would have entirely cut off his communication with Bohemia on that side, and have rendered the famous camp of Plauen almost, if not absolutely untenable, he would have been obliged to make a precipitate retreat over the Elbe by Dresden, and probably to have retired to Bohemia by that route, with the greatest part of his army. That the event of this expedition is to be attributed to the faults committed on the part of the Prussians, is most certain; but the decisive fault was in the execution, not in the design. The chief person to be blamed, as we think, was general Finck, not the king.'

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

was sent the next day to occupy the important post of Freyberg. General Finck was afterwards tried by a court-martial, who sentenced him to two years imprisonment. After he was released from his confinement, he went as a general of infantry into the Danish service, and was in that situation when he died.

THE affair of Maxen was not the only disaster which befel the king of Prussia at the close of this campaign. General Diercke, who was posted with seven battalions of infantry, and a thousand horse, on the right bank of the Elbe, opposite to Meissen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons across the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to transport his troops in boats; and when all were passed, except himself, with the rear-guard, consisting of three battalions, he was attacked, on the morning of the third of December, by a strong body of Austrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obstinate contest ¹⁰⁵. By these successive misfortunes, the force of the king of Prussia was greatly weakened; but he received a very seasonable reinforcement of twelve thousand troops, under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunswick. They had been detached to his relief by prince Ferdinand; and that they might join him as soon as possible, they had marched near three

¹⁰⁵ Smollett, ut supra, p. 108.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

hundred miles in fifteen days¹⁰⁶. They joined the king at Freyberg; and, notwithstanding his late losses, marechal Daun still thought him so formidable, that he made no new attempt against him, but contented himself with quietly occupying the strong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to succour Dresden, in case it should be attacked, and also maintain his communication with Bohemia; and Frederick soon after put his forces into winter quarters [M] at Freyberg. But before that event had taken place, a body of his troops, under the command of general Manteuffel, had obtained some considerable advantages against the Swedes in Pomerania.

¹⁰⁶ Annual Register, vol. II. p. 30.

[M] The extreme severity of the weather rendered it indispensably necessary, that the troops of the king of Prussia, as well as of his enemies, should go into winter quarters.

A winter remarkably severe succeeded the bloody campaign of 1759. At Bareith, in the night of the 16th of December, the cold was insupportable. Reaumur's thermometer was sunk to 15, which is precisely the same degree it fell to in 1709, a year like this distinguished by the intenseness of the cold, and the fury of war. Birds dropped dead in their flight. At Leipzig ten sentinels were frozen to death. An infectious disease, which began in the armies, diffused itself among the inhabitants of SAXONY, and made a dreadful havoc. A pestilential contagion raged among the cattle. Famine was soon added to the rest of their calamities; and every misery that can afflict mankind, was poured out upon that unfortunate people, with the most liberal measure.

Annual Register, vol. III. p. 9, 10.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

AT the beginning of the present year, the French, by a breach of faith, had made themselves masters of Franckfort upon the Maine, a free and neutral city. This was an important acquisition, as it secured to them the course of the Maine, and the Upper Rhine ¹⁰⁷, by which they received every species of supply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alsace; and it also maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Austrian forces, and the army of the empire. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick considered it as of much consequence to dislodge them from this post; and, therefore, determined to attempt it, as soon as the season would permit his troops to take the field. The Hanoverian army which he commanded, had been augmented by German recruits, and strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England. He assembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda in the month of April, 1759, and began his march towards Franckfort at the head of thirty thousand men, having left the rest of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the bishopric of Munster. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglie, strongly posted near the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. As he had resolved to attack it, he immediately drew up his

¹⁰⁷ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 335.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. But, after three desperate efforts to get possession of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loss of two thousand men. Prince Ferdinand being thus defeated, the French still kept possession of Franckfort, and all the advantages which they derived from that situation. They received considerable reinforcements, and acquired in a short space such a superiority, as obliged prince Ferdinand to content himself with acting on the defensive, for a long time after. As the French advanced, he found it necessary to retire; though he left strong garrisons in Lipstadt, Retberg, Munster, and Minden, in order to retard the progress of the French generals. But Retberg was soon after surprized by the duke de Broglie; that general also took Minden by assault; and Munster, though defended by a garrison of four thousand men, was reduced, after a short siege¹⁰⁸. It now appeared scarcely possible, to prevent the French from making themselves a second time masters of his Britannick majesty's German dominions. But, with the hope of preventing this, prince Ferdinand resolved to hazard another action, and accordingly engaged the French army at the battle of Minden, with a much inferior force, and gained a complete victory, on the first of August. He afterwards

¹⁰⁸ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 336.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

gained possession of Minden, Cassel, and Munster, and forced the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia.

ON the ninth of November, 1759, the fourth treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was signed at London; by which it was agreed, that a third sum of 670,000*l*, sterling should be paid to his Prussian majesty, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications; and it was again stipulated between the two kings, 'not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention, or agreement whatsoever, with the powers who had taken part in the present war, but in concert, and by mutual consent, and expressly comprehending each other therein'¹⁰⁹. At these expensive Prussian treaties, many of the inhabitants of England now began to murmur; and, indeed, the real interests of Great Britain were, at the present period, much sacrificed to the king's personal predilection for his electorate of Hanover. The public money of the kingdom was squandered [N],

with

¹⁰⁹ Gent. Mag. vol. XXIX. p. 609, 610.

[N] The king of Prussia himself was of opinion, that a part at least of the public money of England, which had been spent in Germany, was squandered away unnecessarily and improperly. In the preface to his *Histoire de mon Temps*, as published by count Hertzberg, is the following passage: 'On the one side I see the king of Spain, sovereign of the mines of Potosi, overwhelmed with debt in Europe; and on the other, the king of England, profusely scattering with both hands

with great profusion, in subsidies to foreign princes [o], and in support of the German war; from

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

‘hands those guineas, which thirty years industry had accumulated in Great Britain, to support the queen of Hungary and the Pragmatic sanction.’ *Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année, &c.* p. 44.

[o] Among other German princes, to whom large sums of the public money of England were voted, one was the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. This prince, who, in time of war, was incapable of defending his own dominions, which were repeatedly taken possession of by the French, lent his troops to Great Britain for a subsidy of more than three hundred thousand pounds per annum. He was not, however, always very firm in his alliance with Great Britain. Mr. Entick says, that ‘the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was a subsidiary ally, retained by a large pension in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail; and whose enmity could never hurt Great Britain, but in such conjunctures, when foreign or domestic quarrels or commotions should require an auxiliary aid. But expecting, from appearances, (in 1758,) that the cause of Hanover was in a losing condition, this mercenary ally, though a principal in the dispute, and connected with Great Britain by the ties of solemn treaties, and of gratitude and honour, sued to be enlisted into the service of our common enemy.’ *Hist. of the War*, vol. III. p. 120, 121.

In the year 1756, when apprehensions were formed of a design in the French to invade Great Britain, a body of Hessian troops were brought over into England; a measure which justly excited great discontent in a considerable part of the nation; and this discontent was increased by its being determined, that in case of any acts of violence being committed in the kingdom by these foreign mercenaries, they were not amenable to the laws of England. No apprehensions of an

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

from which no adequate advantage [P] to Great Britain, or even to the electorate of Hanover, was procured, or could rationally have been expected.

invasion, could reconcile the nation to these foreign defenders. Indeed, the native force of Great Britain, its militia, and more especially its navy, is fully equal to its own defence. Hiring foreign troops, therefore, for the defence of the nation, under whatever pretence, is a measure always dishonourable and dangerous; and should at all times, by the inhabitants of Great Britain, be firmly and zealously opposed.

[P] Dr. Smollett remarks, that ' the partizans of the ministry were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary DIVERSION in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined; and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one-third part of the money annually ingulphed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruizer would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace, as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.' Hist. of England, *ut supra*, vol. IV, p. 214, 215.

ON the fifth of December, 1759, duke Lewis of Brunswick delivered to the ministers of the several belligerent powers, residing at the Hague, the following declaration, in the names of the kings of Great Britain and Prussia:

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

‘ Their Britannick and Prussian majesties, moved with compassion at the mischiefs which the war, that has been kindled for some years, has already occasioned, and must necessarily produce, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to their tender concern for the preservation and well-being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the proper means to put a stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of public tranquillity. In this view, and in order to manifest the purity of their intentions in this respect, their said majesties have determined to make the following declaration, viz.

‘ That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place, which shall be thought most proper, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a solid and general peace, with those whom the belligerent parties shall think fit to authorize, on their parts, for the attaining so salutary an end ¹¹⁰.

In the course of this year, the king of Prussia was accused of barbarity, in issuing an order for

¹¹⁰ Annual Register, vol. II. p. 267.

removing

CHAP.
XXVIII.
A. D.
1759.

removing all his prisoners from Berlin to Spandau. But this measure he endeavoured to justify, in a letter to his ministers at foreign courts, in which he declared, that he had provided for all the officers, who were his prisoners of war, as well Swedes, as French and Austrians, and lately for the Russians, the best accommodations, and every conveniency; having, for that end, permitted them to pass the time of their captivity in his capital. But as some of them, he said, 'had grossly abused the liberty allowed them, by keeping up illicit correspondencies, and by other practices, with which he could not avoid being offended,' he had been obliged to remove them all to the town of Spandau. He desired, however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortress of that name, from which it was entirely separated; as in the town they would enjoy the same ease as at Berlin, but would be 'more narrowly watched.' His conduct, on this occasion, he said, was sufficiently authorized, not only by the law of nations, but also by the example of his enemies; inasmuch as the empress-queen had never suffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reside at Vienna; and the court of Russia had sent some of them as far as Kasan ¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ Annual Register, vol. II. p. 250.

C H A P. XXIX.

Frederick encamps his army between the Elbe and the Multa.—His letter to king Stanislaus.—Declarations relative to peace made by the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Versailles.—General Fouquet, with a large body of Prussians, defeated and taken by general Laudohn, at Landsbut.—Bombardment of Dresden by the king of Prussia.—Memorial published on that occasion by the king of Poland.—Bombardment of Breslaw by general Laudohn,

THE events of the year 1759 had been more
 adverse to the king of Prussia, than any
 other from the commencement of the war. He
 had been greatly weakened by the defeat of his
 troops at Zulichau, by his own defeat at Kuners-
 dorff, by the affair of Maxen, and by other
 disasters. But notwithstanding these misfor-
 tunes, his enemies still found him extremely for-
 midable: he had put his troops into winter-
 quarters in Saxony, and though the Austrians
 were masters of Dresden, he yet kept possession
 of almost every other part of that electorate. In
 the month of January, 1760, the Prussian and
 Austrian armies were cantoned so near each other,
 that daily skirmishes were fought with various
 success. But early in the campaign, he with-
 drew

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1759.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1759.

drew his out-posts from Freyberg, and drawing a chain of cantonments from the forest of Tharandt on his right to the Elbe, he took a most advantageous camp between that river and the Multa. This camp he fortified in every place that was accessible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By these means, he was enabled to maintain his ground against the grand Austrian army under marechal Daun, whose whole attention he engaged, and at the same time to send a strong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without exposing himself to any danger. Prince Henry had assembled an army near Franckfort on the Oder, where he took various positions, in order to oppose the Russians, and to protect Silesia and the New Marche of Brandenburg, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. General Fouquet had established his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz; and whilst he covered Silesia on that side, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was so posted as to be able to send to, or to receive succours from him, as either party should happen to be pressed ¹¹².

IN consequence of the advances towards a peace, which were made by the kings of Great

¹¹² Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 380, 381. Annual Register, vol. III. p. 13.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1759.

Britain and Prussia, in their declaration delivered to the foreign ministers at the Hague, which I have given in the preceding chapter, the king of Spain offered his best offices in quality of mediator; and when a congress was proposed, the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negotiation. King Stanislaus [Q.] also wrote letters to their Britannick and Prussian majesties, offering the city of Nancy for the same purpose; and from the king of Prussia he received the following answer:

‘ Sir, and brother,

‘ I received your majesty’s letter with a very sincere pleasure, and I should certainly not have refused the offer which you make of the city of Nancy, if it had depended on me. Any negotiations that should be carried on under your auspices, could not fail to take a favourable and a happy turn. But your majesty, perhaps, is already apprized, that the sentiments of every body are not so pacific.

‘ The courts of Vienna and Russia have refused, in an unprecedented manner, to enter into the measures proposed by the king of

[Q.] STANISLAUS, who had been king of Poland, was afterwards obliged to abdicate the throne; but the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were conferred upon him, and he still continued to enjoy the title of king. The city of NANCY is the capital of Lorraine.

‘ Great

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1759.

‘ Great Britain; and it is probable, that they
‘ will draw in the king of France, to continue
‘ the war, from which they promise to themselves
‘ all the advantages. They alone, therefore, will
‘ be the sole cause of that effusion of human
‘ blood, which their refusal will occasion. I
‘ shall not, however, be the less grateful for the
‘ obliging offers that have been made by your
‘ majesty. If all sovereigns were as pacific,
‘ equitable, and just, as you are, the earth would
‘ not be exposed, as it is, to devastation, to ravages,
‘ to sword, and fire.

‘ I am, with sentiments of the greatest esteem,
‘ and of the most sincere friendship,

‘ Sir, my brother,

‘ Your majesty's faithful brother,

*Freyberg,
Feb. 8, 1760.*

‘ FREDERICK.’

IN answer to the declarations in favour of peace, from the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, delivered to the foreign ministers at the Hague, memorials were also delivered from the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Versailles, in which they declared, that they were ‘ equally animated
‘ by the desire of contributing to the re-establishment of the public tranquility, on a solid and
‘ equitable footing;’ and ‘ that his Catholic
‘ majesty having been pleased to offer his mediation in the war, which had subsisted for some
‘ years

' years between France and England, and that
 ' war having nothing in common with that which
 ' the two empresses, with their allies, had carried
 ' on for some years against the king of Prussia,
 ' his most Christian majesty was ready to treat
 ' of his particular peace with England, through
 ' the good offices of his Catholic majesty, whose
 ' mediation he had a pleasure in accepting.' It
 was farther added, that ' as to the war which
 ' directly regarded his Prussian majesty, the em-
 ' press-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the
 ' empress of all the Russias, and the most Chris-
 ' tian king, were disposed to agree to the ap-
 ' pointment of the congress proposed. But as,
 ' by virtue of their treaties, they could not enter
 ' into any engagement relating to peace, but in
 ' conjunction with their allies, it would be neces-
 ' sary, in order that they might be enabled to
 ' explain themselves definitively upon that sub-
 ' ject, that their Britannick and Prussian majesties
 ' should previously be pleased to cause their in-
 ' vitation to a congress to be made to all the
 ' powers, that were directly engaged in war
 ' against the king of Prussia; and particularly to
 ' his majesty the king of Poland, elector of
 ' Saxony [R], and likewise to his majesty the
 king

CHAP.
 XXIX.
 A. D.
 1760.

[2] Voltaire, speaking of the overtures relative to peace
 which were made at this time, says of the king of Prussia,
 ' He will cede nothing; and proposes, in order to indemnify

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

‘ king of Sweden, who ought specifically to be
‘ invited to the future congress¹¹³.’

THE proposal of appointing the king of Spain to be mediator between France and Great Britain, was not likely to be well received by the English ministry, as his Catholic majesty could hardly be expected to be a very impartial mediator. As to the war between Great Britain and France, it had been attended with very distinguished success on the part of the former. Mr. PITT, who then presided in the councils of England, though his conduct was censurable respecting the German war, yet had otherwise manifested the utmost integrity, and displayed all the talents of a truly great and illustrious minister. Under his direction, and animated by his spirit, his influence, and his energetic and commanding eloquence, the arms of Great Britain had been triumphant in every quarter of the world. The British conquests had been so numerous, and the national success so great, that the administration of PITT

‘ the elector of Saxony, that they shall give him Erford,
‘ which belongs to the elector of Mentz. He must always
‘ rob somebody: it is his way.’ *Memoires*, p. 206, 207.
Voltaire corresponded with Frederick concerning the proposed terms of peace; and complains, that the king sent his confidential letters to London, and endeavoured to sow dissension between the court of France and their allies.

¹¹³ *Annual Register*, vol. III. p. 203, 204.

to be

pass

rain,

glith

rdly

As

e, ut

cess

then

his

man

in-

ruly

rec-

nice,

nice,

nant

con-

onal

'117

well,

ways

207.

pro-

at his

iffen-

will

rp®

will
of cl

(*)

foreign

693,

• illu

• in L

• tical

• of G

• the v

• the c

• Am

• have

• the c

• perh

• whom

• the a

• Sau

• Am

• mem

• a Car

• in ex

• other

• in his

• gree

• intrig

• ineffe

• for th

• he at

• concl

• helm

• His fi

• verian

• defence

Voz

will ever form one of the most splendid periods of the British annals [s].

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1766.

THE

[s] To the splendour of Mr. PITT's administration even foreign writers have borne testimony. Count ALGAROTTI says, 'It is to PITT that England is indebted for that fine illumination, which was exhibited last year in a certain house in London, in which every quarter of the globe had its particular window decorated with an inscription. The taking of Goree and Senegal for AFRICA; that of Surat for ASIA; the victories at Minden, Cadiz, and Quiberon, for EUROPE; the conquest of Cape Breton, of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. for AMERICA: an illumination that the Romans never could have made, for want of a window.'—PITT sketches all the outlines of the different operations, though he does not, perhaps, finish the picture. He chuses, however, persons whom he knows to be equal to the task. He gives scope to the abilities of an ANSON, a HAWKE, a BOSCAWEN, a SAUNDERS, a GRANBY, a WOLFE, a MURRAY, and an AMHERST; and does not suffer them to remain inactive or unemployed.'—As inaccessible to bribes as a Fabricius or a Curius, sober, indefatigable, firm in his designs, vigorous in executing them, nervous in his language, attentive to no other object but the glory of his nation, which he considers as his own, he has arrived by honourable means to that degree of greatness, which is seldom attained without mean intrigues, and artifices at court. He is not much given to finess in his political negociations: with a heart full of zeal for the public good, and a mind firmly directed towards it, he attends only to essentials, and follows the concise and conclusive method of the Romans. When called to the helm of state, he found the treaty of Prussia already formed. His first public act was to send back the Hessians and Hanoverians, and to raise in their room a national militia, for the defence of the kingdom.'—Notwithstanding that PITT

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

THE pacific declarations of the several belligerent powers did not produce any real effect, or prevent the continuance of hostilities. General Laudohn, with a strong, but light and disencumbered army, moved from a camp which he had occupied during the winter in Bohemia, and presenting himself alternately on the side of Lusatia, and on the frontiers of Silesia, threatened sometimes to penetrate to Berlin, sometimes by a bold stroke to effect a junction with the Russians, and attack prince Henry, and sometimes to

* sent troops to the electorate of Hanover, English armaments
* appeared every day upon the coasts of France. One would
* imagine, that under him the number of people was multiplied. He inspired into all the noble thirst of conquest and
* of glory. That rooted animosity, which has always subsisted between the sailors and the soldiers, between the commanders by sea and those by land, he found means to convert into a laudable emulation, which should most effectually
* serve their country.' Letters military and political, p. 120—131.

MONS. LAUREAU, speaking of the period of Mr. Pitt's administration, says, ' Since the fall of Tyre and Carthage, the world has never seen a spectacle equal to that exhibited by ENGLAND towards the middle of this century. The seas were covered with her vessels; her victorious flag was hoisted in every harbour of the universe. Commerce, subservient to her laws, regularly paid, in her isle, the tribute of all nations. Her intrepid sailors, uniting fame with interest, with one hand poured forth the horn of plenty, and with the other raised her sail, which covered the remainder of the globe.' Eloge de Frederic II. p. 18.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

fit down before Glatz, Schweidnitz, or Breslaw¹¹⁴. By these manœuvres he kept the Prussians in continual alarm, as they knew not on which side the storm would fall. Having by several feints led general Fouquet to believe, that his intentions were against Schweidnitz, that general marched thither a considerable body of Prussian troops, and left Glatz uncovered. When Laudohn perceived, that this stratagem had succeeded, he immediately made use of another, and with equal success. He took possession of Landshut; which he discovered a design of securing, and left there a small body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at so unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with precipitation, and drove the Austrians from Landshut without difficulty; but, in the mean time, Laudohn had made himself master of several important passes, by which he was in some degree enabled to surround the corps of general Fouquet. The Prussian commander did every thing possible, in such circumstances, to defend himself against a superior enemy [T]. But all his efforts were ineffectual.

The

¹¹⁴ Annual Register, vol. III. p. 13. Hist. of Modern Europe, ut supra, p. 381.

[T] The king of Prussia, speaking of this attack by the Austrian general, says, that 'it was a fine opportunity of acquiring fame at a small expence. Laudohn, opposed by eight thousand Prussians, came to the attack with twenty-eight thousand Austrians; but, to render himself still more

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

The Austrians attacked his entrenchments, near LANDSHUT, with great fury, on the twenty-third of June. The Prussians defended themselves very gallantly, and a considerable slaughter was made of the Austrians; but general Fouquet having received two wounds, and four thousand of his troops being slain, the remainder of his army, amounting to seven thousand, surrendered.

secure, he was determined to add stratagem to strength. On the night of the twenty-third of June, he seized on two heights, on which was the right of general Fouquet. These important posts rendered it easy for him to establish batteries, which should take the Prussians in flank and rear. M. Fouquet valiantly defended his remaining posts. After suffering great loss, he perceived a column of Austrian cavalry in full march to cut off his retreat. On this he abandoned his hills, and formed his infantry into a square, with which he marched to gain the road of Bolkenhayn. His troops had consumed almost all their powder. The Austrian cavalry attacked, and were several times repulsed. After a noble and generous defence, the square was broken by the enemy. M. Fouquet received two wounds; and was taken prisoner, with the greatest part of his troops. He had defended himself from two in the morning to ten in the forenoon; and, far from suffering in his reputation, so long and so well established, he increased it by his conduct on this occasion, which furnished an example of what valour and fortitude may effect against numbers, be their superiority what it may. This splendid action may be compared to that of Leonidas and the Greeks who defended the streights of Thermopylæ; which had nearly a similar termination.

Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 86, 87, 88.

them-

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

themselves prisoners of war¹¹³. Fifty-eight pieces of artillery, and many military trophies, also fell into the hands of the Austrians; and general Laudohn soon after made himself master of Glatz, where there were more than one hundred brass cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vast quantity of ammunition.

On the second of July, the king himself having made the necessary dispositions for proceeding towards Silesia, quitted his strong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and began his march [u] in two columns through Lusatia. Count Daun no sooner had advice of his march, than he also immediately moved, with the utmost expedition, at the head of his main army, towards Silesia; leaving the army of the empire, and a body of troops under general Laschy, to guard Saxony in his absence. The two armies continued their route through Lusatia; that of the king a little to the northward, and that of marechal Daun to the southward; both apparently pushing towards the same object. But when the king was apprized, that count Daun had gained full two

¹¹³ Hist. of Modern Europe, and Annual Register, ut supra.

[u] Frederick on this occasion marched with such rapidity, that he says himself, speaking of the sixth of July, 'The heat on that day was so excessive, that eighty men dropped dead on the march.' Hist. de la Guerre Sept Ans, p. 93.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

days march upon him; that he had actually arrived at Gorlitz, and was pushing by forced marches to Lauban; he immediately wheeled into the opposite direction, repassed the Spree near Bautzen, and whilst he was supposed to be on the frontiers of Silesia, suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before Dresden, on the thirteenth of the month. The army of the empire retired, and the corps under the command of count Laschy changed its situation.

THE unfortunate capital of Saxony, which had before suffered much calamity from the king of Prussia, was now again exposed to the miseries of a siege. The Austrian governor, general Macguire, being summoned to surrender, answered, that having the honour to be entrusted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the last extremity. Batteries were immediately raised against the town on both sides of the Elbe; and the suburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried. In the mean time, count Daun having received information of Frederick's return to Saxony, and of the siege of Dresden, immediately marched back, and that with such rapidity, that on the nineteenth of the month he reached the neighbourhood of Dresden. In consequence of his approach, the Prussian monarch, whose heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts against the city, so as to reduce to

ashes

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

ashes several of the churches [x], the new square, several noble streets, and some palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. The siege continued till the twenty-second of the month, but marechal Daun having thrown sixteen battalions into the city on the preceding night, Frederick abandoned his undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured, but without success, to bring the Austrian general to an engagement.

THE king of Poland, who was extremely affected at the devastation that had been made, during this short siege, in the capital of his electoral dominions, published a memorial on the occasion at Vienna, in which were the following passages: ‘ Since the troubles began, that desolate Germany, his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, hath been too often obliged to make just complaints to his high

[x] Dr. Burney, after describing the *Frauen Kirche*, or great Lutheran church of our Lady at Dresden, which, he says, ‘ is a very noble and elegant building, of white stone, with a high dome in the middle,’ adds farther, ‘ The king of Prussia, in his last bombardment of Dresden, tried every means in his power to beat this church, as well as the other public buildings, about the ears of the inhabitants; but in vain: for the orbicular form of the dome threw off the balls and shells, and totally prevented their effect. However, he succeeded better in five or six other churches, which he totally demolished.’ *Present State of Music in Germany*, vol. II. p. 32.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

allies, to the diet of the empire, and to all Europe. Stripped of his hereditary dominions by a neighbour, who, on entering them, asked only a passage through them, made protestations of friendship towards the sovereign, and declared he had no ground of complaint against him, nor any claim on the country; the king could not but look on the acts of hostility, committed by the Prussians, as so many injuries, as so many breaches of the law of nations, and manifest violations of the laws of the empire. But things were soon carried to such a length, that SAXONY would have thought herself too happy to find in the king of Prussia, not a depositary, but a declared enemy, provided this enemy would have respected the laws and customs of war, which humanity prescribes, and which all civilized nations have hitherto observed. She would not, in that case, have seen her towns subjected to contributions, which exceed all measure [y]; the suburbs

[y] It is said, that the contributions that Frederick drew from Saxony, in 1760, amounted to more than two millions of crowns, together with ten thousand recruits, several hundred thousand bushels of corn, and many thousand horses, oxen, sheep, &c. The finest forests were also cut down and sold. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 114.

Of the Prussian mode of raising recruits in Saxony, the following account was published about this time: 'The Prussians have carried off from Tchoppau and Chemnitz, rich manufacturing

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

' suburbs of the capital set on fire, without necessity; the lands laid waste; and, what completes her misfortunes, her young men torn from her by force, and constrained to bear arms against their sovereign. Horrid treatment! and so opposite to humanity, that it is without example, not among civilized nations only, but even among the greatest barbarians.

' SUNK under such grievous oppressions, Saxony seemed to have no room to fear that her condition would be worse. Nevertheless, she hath found within the space of the last year, that fresh misfortunes were in reserve for her; and that, if the Prussians seemed for some time to preserve the country, it was only that they themselves might enjoy its produce. This tenderness was not dictated by humanity, but by interest. As the danger of being expelled Saxony increased, they displayed their cruelty. If they quitted any part of the country without hope of returning, they gave it up to pillage. Wherever they came, the unhappy peasant was plundered without mercy; grain, forage, horses, cattle of all kinds, were taken from him; and he was left without subsistence.

' facturing towns in Saxony, every man fit to carry arms, without any regard to the remonstrances of the manufacturers, or to the cries of their distressed wives and children.'

Gent. Mag. for February, 1761, p. 23.

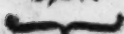
' Whole

CHAP.

XXIX.

A. D.

1760.



Whole families, and the best workmen of all forts, were carried off. Even women found no safeguard in their sex; but all, who were thought useful for Brandenburg, were torn from their families, and carried into slavery.

THE city of DRESDEN remained. Notwithstanding the ruin of its suburbs, it still maintained a numerous people: it was the resource of the neighbouring country. To complete the ruin of Saxony, the unfortunate city was to be destroyed. Had the enemy attacked the place according to the rules and customs of war, had they directed their efforts against the ramparts, the king would, without doubt, have lamented the evils that would have resulted from it to his people; but he would have lamented them without complaining: and though, in the fiercest wars, the residences of sovereigns have hitherto been generally spared, his majesty would have been silent; for, in short, one is accustomed to consider the king of Prussia not as an ordinary enemy. But the Prussians made war on the innocent townsmen; their fire was wholly directed against the houses; and they endeavoured to destroy a town which they could not take.

THE king cannot forbear pointing out to all Europe this remarkable circumstance, that the enemy redoubled their fire against the houses of Dresden, and did them the greatest damage, when

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

when the arrival of marechal Daun, with his whole army, left them no hope of being able to take the place; and, in short, that in drawing off their men from the suburbs before Wilfruff-gate, they laid in ashes upwards of an hundred houses that had escaped in the preceding fires. The king of Prussia succeeded in completing the misfortunes of Saxony, by the disasters that befel the capital. Three hundred and fifty houses destroyed, with all that was in them, and a great many others half ruined, are a fatal loss to a city already exhausted by four successive years of misfortunes. After these things, the king thinks it scarcely worth while to mention his palaces and his gardens, which were sacked and ruined, in contempt of the regard usually paid by one sovereign to another. Is there a man in the empire, or even in all Europe, who doth not see in these terrible effects an implacable hatred, and a destructive fury, which all nations ought to concur in repressing¹¹⁶?

AFTER general Laudohn had made himself master of Glatz, as I have already mentioned, he proceeded immediately to Breslaw, and laid siege to that city. Having summoned the Prussian governor, count Taventzein, to surrender, that officer replied, that he should defend the place to

¹¹⁶ Annual Register, vol. III. p. 208, 209.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

the last extremity. Laudohn thereupon opened his batteries on the first of August, and poured in upon the town a most terrible shower of bombs and red-hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful discharge, which filled the place with horror and desolation, the Austrian general attempted the out-works by assault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their usual impetuosity; but were repulsed with considerable loss, by the conduct and resolution of the governor and garrison. General Laudohn, however, continued to bombard the city, a considerable part of which was reduced to ashes [2]. But prince Henry of Prussia having received intelligence, that the Russian army intended to join general Laudohn at Breslaw, resolved to advance, with the troops under his command, and to relieve that city before the proposed junction. He marched more than one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage, and arrived within a few miles of

[2] It was remarked, that, during this short siege, the Austrians had killed the finest soldier in the Prussian army, and the most beautiful woman in Breslaw, and destroyed the handsomest edifice in that city. The soldier, who was much admired for his person, belonged to the regiment of guards; and the female, who was also killed, was a young lady of the name of Muller. The edifice destroyed was the palace of prince Hatzfeld. *Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 268.*

Breslaw

Breslaw on the fifth of August. General Laudohn did not chuse to hazard an action with the Prussians, till he had formed a junction with the Russians; and, therefore, abandoned the siege on the approach of prince Henry ¹¹⁷.

CHAP.
XXIX.
A. D.
1760.

¹¹⁷ Hist. of Modern Europe, ut supra, p. 184. Annual Register, vol. III. p. 19.

C H A P. XXX.

Frederick marches into Silesia.—Battle of Lignitz.

—Letter from the king to the marquis D'Argens.

—He forms a junction with his brother prince Henry, and raises the siege of Schweidnitz.—

The Russians and Austrians enter the Marche of Brandenburg, and make themselves masters of Berlin.—After a short stay, the Russians retire into Poland, and the Austrians into Saxony.—

Progress of the Imperialists and Austrians in Saxony.—Battle of Torgau.—The king's correspondence with the countess de Camas.—He puts his troops into winter-quarters.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

WHEN the king of Prussia found himself obliged, by count Daun, to raise the siege of Dresden, he resolved immediately to march into Silesia. Having left general Hulsen, with fifteen thousand men, in the entrenched camp of Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony, he began his march for Silesia on the third of August. He was followed by count Daun with the grand Austrian army; while a detached body of Austrians, under general Laschy, took post at Rechenberg, and the army of the empire encamped at Kesseldorff. Frederick passed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiss, the Quieſs, and the Bober; and marched with extraordinary rapidity,

rapidity, though his army was encumbered with its heavy artillery, and more than two thousand waggons. But notwithstanding the celerity of his march, before he could come to any action, marechal Daun, with the main Austrian army, had formed a junction with general Laudohn, and they were soon after joined by count Laschy. The Austrians then extended themselves along the Katsbach, a river which falls into the Oder, and occupied all the ground from Parchwitz to Cossendau, a space of little less than thirty English miles. But, in this extent, their posts were every where strong, and their communications easy. On the tenth of August, Frederick encamped at **LIGNITZ**: but it was in vain that, for several days, he attempted, by various devices, to detach one body of the enemy from the rest, or to turn their flanks, and attack them at disadvantage. The nature of the ground, or the skill of the opposite generals, always disappointed him¹¹⁸.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

IN this state of things, the king received information, that twenty-four thousand Russians, under count Czernichef, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to cross that river: and he concluded, that the enemy had formed a design to close him in, and to attack him with their joint forces. But before any

¹¹⁸ Annual Register, vol. III. p. 26, 27.

junction

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

junction could take place between the Russians and the Austrians, as the latter were, without any such junction, greatly superior in number to the Prussians, marechal Daun, having reconnoitred the king's situation at LIGNITZ, had formed a design of attacking him by surprize, in the night, or early in the morning, with the united strength of the three Austrian armies; and he had communicated his intentions to the two other generals. From the motions of the Austrian general, the king of Prussia conjectured his design; he, therefore, quitted his camp, in the night, with the utmost privacy, and occupied an advantageous post on the heights of PSAFFENDORFF, by which general Laudohn was to have advanced. The Prussians had but just arrived at their new situation, when they received information, about two o'clock in the morning, that general Laudohn was in full march, and that his columns advanced by Bennowitz. The Prussian army thereupon separated into two bodies; the right remained upon the ground where it had been formed, to observe marechal Daun, and to prevent him from advancing from the Schwartzwasser and through LIGNITZ¹¹⁹; and sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons wheeled about, in order to attack general Laudohn the moment he arrived.

¹¹⁹ Universal Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 159, from the London Gazette.

Gians
hout
er to
con-
had
e, in
the
ies;
the
the
red
in
oied
en-
ave
l at
na-
that
hia
ian
the
had
to
x-
en
at,
nt

on
er

rp[®]

A
Aug
villag
and a
army
situat
of art
Laud
this fi
the m
troop
circu
advan
The
troops
charg
scenes
under
severa
fight v
ing, v
to the
not all
they H
succou
succee
from L
his app

Vol

At three in the morning, on the fifteenth of August, the Austrian general had advanced to the village of PSAFFENDORFF, when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually dispersing, the Prussian army appeared in order of battle, in a well chosen situation, and strengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the best advantage. General Laudohn was astonished to find the Prussians in this situation, of which he had not entertained the most distant conception. He formed his troops, however, as well as the time, place, and circumstances would permit; and the Prussians advancing to the attack, a severe action ensued. The king rode along the line to animate the troops, and superintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the most dangerous scenes of the battle; so that his horse was killed under him, and his clothes were shot through in several places ¹²⁰. The Austrians maintained the fight with great obstinacy until six in the morning, when they gave ground, and were pursued to the Katzbach, beyond which Frederick would not allow his troops to prosecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to succour the right, in case marechal Daun should succeed in his attempt to advance against them from LIGNITZ. That general had, indeed, made his approaches to the camp which the Prussians

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

¹²⁰ Smollett, ut supra, p. 272.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

had just before occupied; and was much surprized, on his arrival at Lignitz, to find no enemy there. But when he perceived a thick cloud of smoke at a distance, he comprehended what had happened, and endeavoured to advance to the support of Laudohn by the way of Lignitz. This, however, was prevented, by the Prussian troops and artillery which had been left to dispute his march, which were so advantageously disposed, as to render all his efforts abortive.

IN the battle of LIGNITZ, the loss on the side of the Austrians amounted to ten thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; together with twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon. The loss of the Prussians was computed at seventeen hundred killed and wounded. Immediately after the action, Frederick marched to Parchwitz; while marechal Daun detached a strong body of troops, under prince Lowenstein and general Beck, to strengthen the Russians, and to encourage them to advance. But count Czernichef was so much alarmed by the defeat of the Austrians at Lignitz, and was also so deceived by a stratagem of Frederick's [A], that,

[A] In order to deceive count Czernichef, the Russian general, and to prevent him from attempting to join the Austrians, Frederick wrote a letter to his brother prince Henry, stating, that he had completely defeated the Austrians, that he was constructing a bridge over the Oder, and, after passing that river, hoped to attack the Russians commanded by

that, instead of advancing, he repassed the Oder by the same bridges on which he had lately crossed it¹¹¹. By the victory, therefore, which the king of Prussia had obtained, and by his art and dexterity, he not only escaped the imminent danger of a defeat from the joint efforts of the different Austrian armies, but also prevented the junction of the Russian and Austrian forces [B].

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760

by general Soltikow with equal success. He, therefore, intreated his brother, to make such motions on his part as had been concerted between them. This letter was consigned to a peasant, who was ordered to throw himself in the way of general Czernichef's advanced parties, that he might be taken by them. The peasant was accordingly made prisoner, and the king's letter was conveyed to the Russian general, who was completely deceived by it, and thereby prevented from attempting to form any junction with the Austrians. Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 126, 127, 128, 129.

¹¹¹ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 29.

[B] In an account of some of the operations of this campaign, which was published by authority at Berlin, it is said, that 'the battle of LIGNITZ stopped the execution of the designs of the king's enemies against him, and disconcerted their plan for the rest of the campaign. Three armies, each of them superior in number to that of the king, which had even entirely surrounded him, and which counted so much on the success of the measures they had taken to overwhelm him, that they had even fixed the day which was to decide his fate, were, by this victory, reduced for a long time to total inaction, and obliged to think more of defending themselves, than of forming offensive enterprizes.' Grand Mag. vol. III. p. 614.

CHAP.
XXX.
A.D.
1760.

BUT notwithstanding the advantage which he had gained by his success in this action, he was still surrounded by numerous enemies, and his situation was extremely critical. A letter, which he wrote soon after the battle of Lignitz to the marquis D'Argens, who had congratulated him upon his victory, was intercepted by a Russian detachment, and was afterwards printed and circulated about, with a view of dispiriting his friends. Of that letter, which contains some observations on his situation at this time, the following is a translation:

‘ FORMERLY, my dear marquis, the affair of the 15th of August would have decided a campaign: at present, that action is no more than a scratch. A great battle must determine our fate. We shall have one, according to all appearances, very soon; and then, if the event be favourable to us, we may rejoice. I return you thanks, however, for the sincere part you take in the late advantage which I have obtained. It required many stratagems, and much address, to bring things to that pass. Do not talk to me of danger; the last action cost me only a suit of clothes and a horse. That is buying victory very cheap.

‘ I HAVE not received the letter which you mention. We are in a manner blocked up, in regard to correspondence, by the Russians on one side the Oder, and by the Austrians on the other.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

other. A small skirmish was necessary to clear the way for Cocceii [c]: I hope that he will deliver you my letter.

I NEVER was, in the course of my life, in a more embarrassing situation than in this campaign. Believe me, nothing less than a miracle is still necessary to extricate me from the difficulties that I foresee. I shall certainly do my duty when occasion offers; but, my dear marquis, always remember, that I pretend not to command fortune, and that I am obliged, in my projects, to leave too much to chance, because I have it not in my power to form schemes that are more solid. I have the labours of a Hercules to undergo, at a time of life when my strength fails me, and my infirmities increase; and, to speak the truth, when hope, the only consolation of the unhappy, begins to desert me. You are not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of affairs, to have a clear idea of all the dangers which threaten the state. I know, but conceal them: I keep all my fears to myself, and only communicate to the public my hopes, or the little good news, that I can acquaint them with. If the blow that I meditate succeeds, then, my dear marquis, it will be time enough to express our joy.

[c] Cocceii was the name of the aid-de-camp, who was charged with the care of this letter.

CHAP.

XXX.

A. D.

1760.

‘ But, till then, let us not flatter ourselves, lest,
 ‘ by some unexpected ill news, we should be too
 ‘ much dejected.

‘ I LEAD here the life of a military monk. I
 ‘ have much to think of about my affairs; and
 ‘ the rest of my time I devote to literature,
 ‘ which is my consolation, as it was that of the
 ‘ consul, the father of his country, and of elo-
 ‘ quence. I know not whether I shall survive
 ‘ this war; but, if that should be the case, I am
 ‘ resolved to pass the remainder of my days in
 ‘ retirement, in the bosom of philosophy and
 ‘ of friendship.

‘ WHEN our correspondence shall be more
 ‘ open, you will oblige me by writing more fre-
 ‘ quently. I know not where we shall have our
 ‘ winter-quarters. My house at Breslaw was
 ‘ destroyed in the late bombardment. Our ene-
 ‘ mies envy us every thing, even day light, and
 ‘ the air we breathe. They must, however,
 ‘ leave us some place; and, if it be safe, it will
 ‘ be a treat to receive you there.

‘ PRAY, my dear marquis, what is become of
 ‘ the peace with France? Your nation, you see,
 ‘ is more blind than you imagined. Those fools
 ‘ lose Canada, and Pondicherry, to please the
 ‘ queen of Hungary and the czarina. Heaven
 ‘ grant, that prince Ferdinand may well reward
 ‘ them for their zeal! The officers, innocent of
 ‘ these evils, and the soldiers, will be made the

‘ victims;

‘ victims; and the illustrious offenders will suffer
 ‘ nothing.—I was in a writing vein, but I see
 ‘ that I must conclude, lest I should tire you,
 ‘ and neglect my own business. Adieu, my dear
 ‘ marquis; I embrace you ¹²².

CHAP.
 XXX.
 A. D.
 1760.

FROM Parchwitz the king of Prussia proceeded to Newmarcke, where he formed a junction with his brother prince Henry. He then advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was now blocked up by the Austrian army under the command of count Daun. In his march, he fell upon a separate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats prisoners, and dispersed several squadrons. The Austrian general then raised the blockade of Schweidnitz, and retreated to the mountains of Landshut.

But whilst Frederick was exerting himself with the utmost activity against his enemies in Silesia, the capital of his dominions was attacked both by the Austrians and the Russians. After the Russian army had retreated out of Silesia, count Czernichef, with a strong detachment, entered the Marche of Brandenburg; while a numerous body of Austrians and Imperialists, under the generals Laschy and Brentano, penetrated into the same country from Saxony, with instructions to

¹²² Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom II. p. 126, 127,
 128. Annual Register, ut supra, p. 31, 32. Entick's Hist.
 of the War, vol. IV. p. 400, 401.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

join the Russians at the gates of BERLIN. General Hulsen, who had commanded a body of Prussian troops against the Imperialists in Misnia, now drew near to Berlin, where he was joined by another body of troops under general Werner, which had lately returned from Pomerania. But as their forces, after this junction, did not exceed sixteen thousand men, and the Russians, Austrians, and Imperialists, amounted to forty thousand, they would not pretend to oppose the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of such extent, and so imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt, they thought, would only have exposed their troops to ruin, without being able to save the capital, which would probably be the more severely treated, in consequence of their opposition. They, therefore, resolved to retire, after having repulsed the advanced guard of the Russians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and began to bombard the city, before the great armies appeared. At their approach, the Prussian generals retreated to Spandau, leaving three weak battalions in Berlin, in hopes that they might be the means of obtaining some terms for the city. On the first summons, articles of capitulation were proposed; but these were refused, and the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In favour of the city, however, the foreign ministers, resident at Berlin, interposed their mediation with such zeal and

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

and success, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exercise of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their persons and effects. It was agreed, that the Russian irregulars should not enter the city; and that the king's palace should not be violated. These articles being ratified, the Austrian and Russian troops entered the place, where they totally destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and founderies, with an immense quantity of military stores, and a great number of cannon and small arms. They then demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thousand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thousand German crowns. Sundry precautions appear to have been adopted by the Austrian and Russian officers, in order to observe an exact discipline; notwithstanding which many outrages were committed by the licentious soldiery. But the country of Brandenburg suffered more severely on this occasion than the city of Berlin; for the country had made no conditions; and it was found extremely difficult to restrain the licentiousness of the Russian Cossacks. The apartments of the royal palace of Charlottenburgh were plundered, the furniture spoiled, the pictures defaced, and some fine antique statues, which had been collected by cardinal Polignac, and afterwards purchased by the king of Prussia, were mutilated
and

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

and damaged. The castle of Schonhausen, belonging to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, belonging to the margrave Charles, were also plundered. But the king's favourite palace of Sans-Souci was effectually protected by prince Esterhafi, who commanded at Potsdam. That prince, who was a general in the Austrian service, would not suffer the least injury to be done to this palace; but having inquired which of the portraits of the king in the palace resembled him most, desired leave to take that picture, and two of his German flutes, which he should preserve, he said, as memorials of his Prussian majesty ¹²³.

It was on the ninth of October that the Russian and Austrian troops entered Berlin, and they quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital. The body of Russians, which had entered Berlin, marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furstenwalde, while the Austrians took the route of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburg. In their retreat, by different routes, they drove away all the cattle and horses they could find, ravaged the country, and are said to have committed many outrages on the inhabitants. But some accounts, which were

¹²³ Smollett, *ubi supra*, p. 276, 277. Annual Register, p. 44, 45. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 273.

afterwards published at Berlin, of the behaviour of the Russians and Austrians in that city, and in the country of Brandenburg, appear to contain much exaggeration.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

WHILE the Russians and Austrians were employed in invading the electorate of Brandenburg, the duke de Deuxponts, at the head of the army of the empire, together with some bodies of Austrian troops, took possession of Torgau and Leipzig, and all the other great towns in Saxony, excepting Dresden; and the Austrians and Imperialists became masters on both sides of the Elbe. A detachment from the French army in Westphalia also laid Halberstadt under contribution; and one part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians, who had invested Colberg both by sea and land.

WHEN the king of Prussia was informed, that his enemies had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburg, instead of proceeding thither, he immediately passed the Elbe, and rushed into Saxony. Marechal Daun followed him, with an army of eighty thousand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and his left being secured by ponds, hills, and woods¹²⁴. It was on the twenty-seventh of October, that the right wing

¹²⁴ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 389.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

of the king of Prussia's army passed the Elbe at Reslau, where he was joined by the troops under general Hulsen and the prince of Wirtemberg. On the day following, the right wing proceeded to Kemberg, where it rejoined the left, which had crossed the Elbe at Bleßern. The Prussian army then encamped on the right of the Mulda, the reserve, under general Hulsen, extending to Taucha. The army of the empire thereupon retreated, and general Hulsen took possession of Leipzig, and afterwards rejoined the main Prussian army.

THE situation of the king of Prussia at the present period was so extremely critical, and his enemies so numerous and so formidable, that he resolved at all events to hazard a battle with the main Austrian army; though it was so much superior in number to his own, and so strongly posted, as to render the attempt apparently highly dangerous and imprudent. He told his principal officers, that he was about to lead them on to a most desperate attempt, that his affairs required it, and that he was determined to conquer, or die in the expected engagement. They answered, with ardour, that they would die, or conquer with him. He divided his army into three bodies: general Hulsen, with one of these bodies, was directed to take post in a wood on the left of the Austrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the other divisions

of

of the Prussian army were engaged; general
 Ziethen was instructed to charge on the enemy's
 right; and the grand attack in front was to be
 conducted by the king himself in person ¹²⁵.

CHAP.
 XXX.
 A. D.
 1760.

WHEN marechal Daun found, that the king of Prussia was determined to attack him, which at first he could scarcely credit, he sent all his baggage, with a view of preventing confusion, over the Elbe, across which he threw three bridges, to be ready in case a retreat should be found necessary; and, at the same time, he caused TORGAU to be evacuated. Then extending his first line to a village called Zinne on the left, he stretched it to another called Groschwitz on the right; supporting the right of his second line upon the Elbe. In this disposition he was found, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the third of November, 1760, when the king began his attack, and was received by the fire of four hundred pieces of cannon, which were arranged along the Austrian front.

THE Prussians commenced the battle with the most desperate animosity; but they met with such a warm reception from the artillery, small arms, and in particular from the Austrian carabiniers, that their grenadiers were shattered and

¹²⁵ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 47. Hist. of Modern Europe, p. 390.

repulsed.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

repulsed. The second charge, though made with extraordinary vigour, was equally unsuccessful. Frederick then ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon some regiments of infantry with such fury as compelled them to give way. But these were obliged to retire, in their turn, before seven battalions of the Austrians, who advanced towards TORGAV, stretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to the Zinne. The prince of Holstein then rallied the Prussian cavalry, and returned to the charge. The third line of Prussian infantry also attacked the village of Suptitz, and general Ziethen, with the right wing, took the enemy in the rear. This disposition threw the Austrians into disorder, and their defeat was facilitated by marechal Daun receiving so dangerous a wound in the thigh, as rendered it necessary that he should be carried off the field of battle. He resigned the command of the army to general Buccow; but his arm was shot off in a few minutes after, and the command then devolved upon general Odonell, an officer of great merit, who was descended from a good family in Ireland. The Austrians, however, were at length obliged to retreat; and they crossed the Elbe on the bridges of boats, which had been thrown over the river at TORGAV. The Prussians were the less able to prosecute their victory, because the action had lasted until nine

at

at night, and the night was unusually dark [D].
The king himself, as usual, exposed his person

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

[D] Frederick says, ' After the battle, the Imperialists and Prussians were so near to each other, among the vineyards of Suptitz, that many officers and soldiers, on both sides, wandering in the dark, were made prisoners after the battle was over, and all was tranquil. The king himself, as he was repairing to the village of Neiden, as well to expedite orders relative to the victory, as to send intelligence of it into Brandenburg and Silesia, heard the sound of a carriage near the army. The word was demanded, and the reply was, *Austrian*. The escort of the king fell on, and took two pieces of cannon, and a battalion of pandours, who had lost themselves in consequence of the darkness of the night. An hundred paces farther, he came up with a troop of horse, who again gave the word, *Austrian carabiniers*. The king's escort attacked and dispersed them in the forest. Those who were taken declared, that they had lost their way with M. de Ried in the wood, and that they had supposed that the Imperialists remained masters of the field. The whole forest, which the Prussian army had crossed before the battle, and at the side of which the king was then riding, was filled with large fires. As it could not be guessed what these were, some hussars were sent to obtain information. They returned, and related, that soldiers surrounded the fires, some in blue uniforms, and others in white. As more exact information was necessary, some officers were then sent, who learnt a very singular fact, of which I doubt whether any example can be found in history. The soldiers were of both armies, and had sought an asylum in the wood; where they had passed an act of neutrality, to wait till fortune had decided in favour of the Prussians or the Imperialists; and they had mutually agreed to follow the victorious party.' Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 170, 171.

in

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

in the most dangerous parts of the battle, and was slightly wounded by a musket ball upon the breast [E].

THE

[E] It appears from some anecdotes which are related concerning the king after this battle, that other balls had penetrated his clothes. It also appears from the same anecdotes, that he was not so much with his guards during this action as usual; and, from the particulars that are mentioned, it seems that he sometimes let his soldiers, and particularly his guards, take great liberties with him. It is said, that the night after the battle of TORGAU being very cold, large fires were made, near one of which the king stood to warm himself, surrounded by some of his grenadier guards. The name of one of those who stood nearest him was REBIK; and with this man the king often conversed very familiarly, and frequently gave him money. On this occasion Rebiak asked his majesty, who had commended his guards for their bravery, where he himself had been during most of the battle? 'Generally,' said he, 'we have been accustomed to see you at our head; and to be led on by you to the hottest fire. But to-day we have seen very little of you. You did not use to desert us thus formerly.' Frederick mildly replied, that he had been in another part of the action, where his presence had been more necessary, which had prevented him from being with his guards as usual. During this conversation, the king growing warm with the heat of the fire, unbuttoned his surcoat; and then the soldiers observed a musket-ball fall from his clothes; and from the holes, which had been made in his clothes, they also perceived the dangers he had encountered. The grenadiers then exclaimed, 'Thou art our old FRITZ; thou partakest every danger with us; and we will die for thee. *Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!*' FRITZ was a diminutive of FREDERICK, and was expressive of familiarity and affection.

Another

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

THE battle of TORGAW was a very hard contested battle, and though the Prussians gained the victory, their loss in killed and wounded [F] was very great. Frederick says, 'This battle cost the Prussians thirteen thousand men, three thousand of whom were killed, and three thou-

Another grenadier afterwards said to the king, 'Now, I suppose, Fritz, thou wilt allow us good winter-quarters.' 'Par tous les diables,' exclaimed the king, 'I shall not, till we have taken Dresden; and then I will provide for you to your heart's content.' During this conversation, some of the old grenadiers had lighted their short pipes, and as they crowded round the king, perfumed him very liberally with the smoke of their tobacco. One of them then said to the others, 'Keep back.' 'No, stay my boys,' said the king, 'I like the smell.' But though the king was thus willing to keep his grenadiers in good humour, it was well known, that he had a great dislike to the smell of tobacco.

Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 275, 276. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 61, 62, 63.

It appears from several anecdotes which are related of the king, that he sometimes swore in conversation; and Voltaire says of him, 'He has a pleasing tone of voice, even in swearing, which is as familiar to him as to a grenadier.' *Idée du Roi de Prusse*, p. 4.

[F] Among the wounded, in the battle of Torgau, was an inferior officer, who had much distinguished himself in the action, and who had his right hand shot off. After the battle, the king asked him, what recompence he should make him for the loss of his right hand? 'Sire,' replied the officer, 'only permit me to serve you with my left.' Frederick appeared struck with his answer, and immediately made him a captain.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

‘ sand were taken prisoners by the enemy, during
‘ the first attacks, in which the Austrians had
‘ the advantage. M. Bulow and M. Finck were
‘ of this number. The breast of the king was
‘ grazed by a ball, and the margrave Charles
‘ received a contusion. Several generals were
‘ wounded. The battle was obstinately disputed
‘ on both sides. Its fury cost the Imperialists
‘ twenty thousand men, of whom eight thousand
‘ were made prisoners, with four generals. They
‘ also lost twenty-seven pair of colours, and fifty
‘ pieces of cannon. Marechal Daun was wounded
‘ in one of the first attacks ¹²⁶.’

THE day after the battle, the king entered the town of Torgau; and, in consequence of his victory, he recovered all Saxony, excepting Dresden, before the end of the campaign. He had entertained, indeed, very strong hopes of being able to regain possession of Dresden; but he was disappointed; for general Odonell, after the battle, had retreated towards that city, provided for its safety, and taken possession of the strong camp at Plauen; and the king found himself unable to dislodge the Austrians from that situation. In the following letter, which was written, a few days after the battle, to the countess de Camas, grand mistress of the queen's household, for whom the king had a great esteem, he has expressed his disappointment respecting Dresden:

¹²⁶ Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, ut supra, p. 171, 172.

* Newstadt, Nov. 11, 1760.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

' I am punctual in answering, and eager to oblige you. Persons of the same age agree wonderfully. I have given up suppers these four years, as incompatible with the business that I am forced to carry on; and, on marching days, my dinner is only a dish of chocolate. We have been running like madmen, quite elated with victory, to see whether we could drive the Austrians from Dresden; but they laughed at us from the tops of their mountains. I returned, like a disappointed child, to hide my vexation in one of the most cursed villages of Saxony. We must now drive messieurs Les Cercles [G] out of Freyberg and Chemnitz, in order to get something to eat, and a place to sleep in.

' This is, I swear to you, such a dog's life, as no one, except Don Quixote, ever led but myself. All this bustle, all this confusion, which seems to be without end, has made me such an old fellow, that you would hardly know me again. The hair on the right side of my head is grown quite grey; my teeth break, and fall out; my face is as full of wrinkles as the fur-below of a petticoat; and my body arched like a monk's of La Trappe. I give you notice of all this, that, if we should meet again in flesh

[G] The king means the army of the empire.

Q 2

' and

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

‘ and bone, you may not be too much shocked
‘ at my figure. Nothing belonging to me re-
‘ mains unaltered, except my heart, which, as
‘ long as I breathe, will retain sentiments of
‘ esteem, and of tender friendship, for my good
‘ mamma. Adieu ¹²⁷.’

In another letter written to the same lady, dated the 27th of the same month, he says, ‘ We have
‘ settled our winter quarters; I have yet a little
‘ round to take, and afterwards I shall go and
‘ seek for tranquility at Leipzig, if it be to be
‘ found there; but, indeed, for me, tranquility
‘ is only a metaphysical word, which has no
‘ reality ¹²⁸.’ Another of his letters to the countess, appears to have been an answer to one from her, in which she had informed him, that one of the maids of honour in the queen’s court, who was said to have a dropsy, had been discovered by her to be with child. In reference to this incident, Frederick says, ‘ In truth, my
‘ good mamma, you are very expert, and I congratulate you upon your skill in dropsies. The
‘ event which has happened is a very common
‘ one; and there are no courts, nor even con-
‘ vents, in which such things do not happen.

¹²⁷ Correspondance familiere et amicale de Frederic Roi de Prusse, avec U. F. de Suhm, &c. tom. II. p. 140, 141. Monthly Review, vol. LXXVI. p. 580.

¹²⁸ Correspondance familiere et amicale, ut supra, p. 141.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

‘ For myself, who am apt to be very indulgent
‘ to the weakneses of our species, I am not in-
‘ clined to stone maids of honour who produce
‘ children. They contribute to perpetuate the
‘ human species, which ferocious politicians are
‘ employed in destroying, by their sanguinary
‘ wars. I confess to you, that I like better those
‘ females whose dispositions are too tender and
‘ susceptible, than those dragons of chastity, who
‘ are for giving no quarter to offenders of their
‘ own sex.—Let this child be well brought up,
‘ that no family may be disgraced, and let the
‘ poor offending female be removed from the
‘ court with as much delicacy as possible, and
‘ in that manner which may be the least injurious
‘ to her reputation¹²⁹.’ In another letter he
‘ says to the countess, ‘ I wish you, my good
‘ mamma, all the prosperity of which these cala-
‘ mitous times are susceptible; and especially
‘ that you may preserve your good humour, the
‘ greatest, and the most real treasure, that fortune
‘ can give us¹³⁰.’

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, died
George II. king of Great Britain, and was suc-
ceeded by his present majesty, king George III.
in whose first speech to the parliament was the
following passage: ‘ I rely upon your zeal and

¹²⁹ Correspondance familiere et amicale, ut supra, p. 142.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 146.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1730.

‘ hearty concurrence to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.’ On the twelfth of December following, the fifth treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, by which it was agreed, that a fourth sum of 670,000*l.* should be paid to his Prussian majesty, in the same manner as had been stipulated by the preceding treaties [H].

[H] It appears from the accounts of the supplies voted by the British parliament, for the year 1761, that the following sums were also granted that year, in support of the German war:

For defraying the charge of 39,773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbottle, Saxe Gotha, and count of Buckeburg, for one year	—	—	£. s. d.
			463,874 0 0
For defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, troops of Hesse-Cassel, for one year	—	—	268,360 0 0
For defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horse, and 8808 foot, troops of Hesse-Cassel, for one year	—	—	147,071 0 0
For defraying the charge of 1205 cavalry, and 2208 infantry, troops of the duke of Brunswick, for one year, and a subsidy for that time	—	—	57,798 0 0
For defraying the charges of five battalions, serving in Germany, for one year	—	—	25,504 0 0

For

Soon after the battle of Torgau, general Laudohn raised the siege of Kosel, and retreated to Upper Silesia; the Russians also abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, being defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were again compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund¹¹. As to the king of Prussia, having found it impracticable to regain possession of Dresden, he put his troops into winter-quarters, in Leipzig, Meissen, and the neighbouring towns and villages. He resided himself chiefly at Leipzig; and it is said, that in the midst of 'preparations for a new campaign, against 280,000 enemies, he yet found sufficient leisure for peaceable occupations; and consecrated some hours every day to reading, to music, and to the conversation of men of letters'¹².

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

AMONG other literary men with whom the king conversed, during this winter, one was M. GELLERT, then professor of belles lettres at Leipzig. The king sent M. Guiscard, then a

For defraying the charges of forage, bread,	} £. s. d.
bread-waggons, train of artillery, &c.	
of the army under the command of prince	
Ferdinand — —	
	1,000,000 0 0

Annual Register, vol. V. p. 153, 154.

¹¹ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 392.

¹² Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 141.

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

major in his army, and to whom he had given the name of Quintus Icilius, to bring the professor to him. They had a long conversation together; and Frederick asked him, among other things, what was the reason, that there were no good German writers? Quintus observed, that his majesty had then before his eyes an excellent German writer, whose productions even the French had judged worthy of a translation, and whom they called the Fontaine of Germany. The king replied, that this was a strong proof of M. Gellert's merit; but he afterwards asked, what the reason was, that there were not in Germany a great number of such good authors as he was? Gellert then remarked, that his majesty seemed to be prejudiced against the Germans. 'By no means,' said the king. 'Against the German writers, at least,' replied the professor. 'That may be,' said the king; 'and the truth is, I have not a very high opinion of them.' Gellert remarked, that several causes had contributed to prevent the Germans from becoming eminent as writers. 'While the arts and sciences flourished among the Greeks,' said he, 'the Romans were solely occupied in the pernicious art of war. May we not look upon this as the military age of Germany? May I not add to this, that the Germans have not had the advantage of such patrons of learning as Augustus and Lewis XIV.' Frederick observed, that there

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

there had been two Augustus's in Saxony. Gellert replied, that there had been good beginnings in that country; but he afterwards added, 'If your majesty would be so generous as to give peace to Germany.'—'How can I do that?' said Frederick, interrupting him: 'Have you not heard, that I have three crowned heads against me?' 'My chief knowledge, sire,' replies the professor, 'lies in antient history: I have studied much less that of modern times.' The king then turned the conversation to Homer and Virgil, and seemed himself inclined to give the preference to the latter. Some discourse afterwards passed concerning Gellert's own works; and the day after, in talking of the professor at table, Frederick said, that 'of all the learned Germans, Gellert was the most rational and judicious.'

DURING the course of this year, the allied army, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, acted chiefly on the defensive; but, on the thirty-first of July, an action took place between the allied army and that of France, at Warburg in Westphalia, in which prince Ferdinand obtained the victory. The loss of the French, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to more than three thousand; and the British troops greatly distinguished themselves in this action. In consequence of this victory, prince

CHAP.
XXX.
A. D.
1760.

prince Ferdinand was enabled to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into Hanover; but they took possession of the whole landgraviate of Hesse, and afterwards made themselves masters of Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannick majesty.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXI.

Frederick takes possession of a strong camp in Upper Silesia.—Sends a body of troops into Poland, who destroy the magazines of the Russians.—General Laudohn takes Schweidnitz by a coup de main.—The Russians make themselves masters of Colberg.—Death of the empress of Russia.—The king of Prussia again makes himself master of Schweidnitz.—The combined army of Imperialists and Austrians, in Saxony, defeated by prince Henry of Prussia at Freyberg.—Incursions made by the Prussian troops into Bohemia and Franconia, and heavy contributions levied on the inhabitants.—Peace of Hubertsbourg.

THOUGH the king of Prussia, during the long and sanguinary war in which he was engaged, had exhibited the highest degree of courage and of military skill, had obtained the most splendid victories, and made exertions so extraordinary, that they seemed almost miraculous, he yet found, that the longer the war continued, the more his difficulties were encreased. His army did not consist of the same troops, as those with which he had commenced the war; he had lost vast numbers of his men not only in action, but by diseases, by the rigour of the seasons, and by perpetual hardships and fatigues; and

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

and he had also lost many of his best and ablest generals [1]. He had likewise lost great numbers

[1] It has been said, ' that the king of Prussia's losses were ' not to be reckoned by the men killed and prisoners, but by ' armies destroyed or taken. Forty generals had died, or ' were slain in his service, since the first of October, 1756, ' exclusive of those who had been wounded, disabled, or made ' prisoners.' Annual Register, vol. III. p. 11. Frederick himself says, ' Prussia computed, that she had been deprived ' by the war of an hundred and eighty thousand men. Her ' armies had fought sixteen pitched battles. The enemy had ' besides almost totally destroyed three large corps; that of ' the convoy of Olmutz, that of Maxen, and that of Fouquet ' at Landshut; exclusive of the garrison of Breslaw, two gar- ' risons of Schweidnitz, one of Torgau, and one of Witten- ' berg, which were taken with these towns. It was farther ' estimated, that twenty thousand persons had perished in the ' kingdom of Prussia by the ravages of the Russians; six ' thousand in Pomerania; four thousand in the New Marche; ' and three thousand in the electorate of Brandenburg.' Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 414, 415. In another place Frederick says, ' Seven campaigns, during ' which seventeen pitched battles had been fought, and almost ' as many inferior actions not less bloody, three sieges under- ' taken by the army, and five sustained, without reckoning ' attacks made on the winter-quarters of the enemy, and other ' military expeditions of a similar kind, had so far ruined the ' army, that a great part of the best officers, and of the vete- ' ran soldiers, had perished in the field. To form some esti- ' mate of this, we need only recollect, that the gaining of ' the battle of Prague alone had cost twenty thousand men. ' Let us add to this calculation, that we had forty thousand ' Austrian prisoners; and that Austria had nearly as many of ' the Prussians, among whom must be numbered more than ' three

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

bers of his men by desertion; for such was the rigour of the Prussian discipline, such the hardships that his men endured, and many were enlisted by methods so oppressive and unjust [κ], that great numbers were always ready to desert, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. Saxony had also been so impoverished and exhausted, that he could not draw from it the supplies that he did at first; nor could his own dominions furnish him either with the money that he wanted, or with a sufficient number of recruits. His enemies, though they also had suffered greatly during the war, were not weakened in proportion; because they had more natural, and more considerable resources, with respect both to men and money. These difficulties, therefore, induced Frederick, during the course of the year 1761, to act chiefly on the defensive.

‘three hundred officers; that the hospitals were full of the wounded; and that in the regiments of foot there were seldom more than an hundred men found, who had served at the commencement of the war. Above fifteen hundred officers had also fallen in the different actions, by which the number of nobility had been extremely diminished.’ *Oeuvres Posthumes*, tome V. p. 161, 162.

[κ] Baron Bielfeld, speaking of the Prussian troops in the year 1740, long before the Saxons had been dragged into the Prussian service, says, ‘Almost all our levies have been raised either by force or artifice.’ *Letters*, vol. IV. p. 26.

As

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

As during the last campaign, the Austrians had made themselves masters of Glatz, the king was extremely solicitous to prevent their making a progress in Silesia. Early, therefore, in the year 1761, he took possession of a very strong camp in Upper Silesia, not far from Schweidnitz; having left his troops in Saxony, which were strongly encamped near Leipzig, under the command of prince Henry. The Russian army was this year divided into two bodies; one of which, commanded by general Tottleben, directed its march towards Pomerania; and the other, under general Butterlin, entered into Upper Silesia, and advanced towards Breslaw. General Laudohn, at the head of an Austrian army, entered that province at the part opposite to them; and they proposed to unite their armies, in order to attack the king of Prussia, or to take Breslaw, or Schweidnitz, in his presence. The Russians spread themselves over all the open country of Silesia, and exacted heavy contributions; and a body of them appeared before Breslaw, on the first of August; and began to cannonade the city, from seven batteries. In the mean time, general Laudohn exerted the whole of his skill to draw the king from his post, and to engage him in a disadvantageous action. He sometimes advanced, as if he meant to join the Russians; and sometimes his motions intimated a design to attack Schweidnitz. These attempts failing, he turned off,

off, and made a feint, as if he intended to fall upon Lower Silesia, in hopes that he might at least oblige the Prussian monarch to detach and divide his forces. But Frederick continued immoveable in his post¹³³.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

WHILE these movements were making in Silesia, the Russians had again besieged Colberg in Pomerania. A strong fleet, consisting of forty sail, blockaded it by sea, whilst a body of Russian troops, under general Romanzow, formed the siege by land. The king of Prussia was extremely desirous to prevent the Russians from taking Colberg; and, therefore, resolved to send general Platen, with a considerable detachment, to its relief. But he intended, at the same time, to employ that general in another service. He ordered him to direct his march through Poland, and to destroy the Russian magazines, which had been amassed on the frontiers of that kingdom, and from which their army in Silesia drew its chief subsistence. General Platen accordingly destroyed three of the principal Russian magazines. He also attacked a great convoy of their waggons, destroyed five hundred, and burnt the greatest part of the provisions that they contained; and most of the four thousand men, who guarded this convoy, were either killed or taken prisoners. General Platen then proceeded

¹³³ Annual Register, vol. IV. p. 32, 33.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

on his march to Pomerania. The Russians in Silesia had just formed a junction with the Austrians; but the destruction of their magazines, and the consequent scarcity of provisions, induced them to separate again from their Austrian allies, to drop their designs upon Breslaw, to repass the Oder, and to retire into Poland.

WHEN the Russians under general Butterlin retired out of Silesia, the king of Prussia, who also found a want of provisions in his camp near Schweidnitz, in order to be the more easily supplied, now approached nearer to the Oder. On making this movement, he also ventured to draft four thousand men from the garrison of Schweidnitz. He thought, that the preparations necessary to a siege, would give him sufficient notice, and sufficient time, to provide for the safety of that important place, from which he had removed only to a small distance. But general Laudohn, who, through the whole campaign, had watched the motions of the king, with the most diligent and penetrating assiduity, and had hitherto found no part open and unguarded, now resolved to attempt SCHWEIDNITZ, by a coup de main. On the first of October, at three in the morning, the assault began. An attack was made, at the same time, on all the four outworks, which the troops, ordered on this important enterprize, approached with so much precaution, that they were not perceived by the Prussian garrison.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

rison. They scaled all the four at the same time, and the troops which defended them had scarcely time to fire a few cannon shot ¹³⁴. On the side of the Austrians, not a gun was discharged; but in one of those outworks a powder-magazine was blown up, by which many of the Austrians were killed. This magazine is said to have been blown up on purpose by a Prussian soldier belonging to the artillery, who, when he saw the Austrians mount the ramparts, exclaimed, 'They shall not enter into the town:' and immediately set fire to the magazine, by which he blew up himself, and three hundred Austrians ¹³⁵. The besiegers, however, carried the outworks, and immediately prepared to assault the body of the place, which they entered by bursting open the gates; and at day-break they found themselves masters of the town. Lieutenant-general Zastrow, governor of the fortress, with about three thousand men, were made prisoners of war. The Austrians found here a great number of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions; and their loss, in this bold and fortunate undertaking, did not much exceed six hundred men.

THIS was a very unexpected blow to the king of Prussia. In answer to a letter concerning it from general Zastrow, who stated that the garri-

¹³⁴ Annual Register, vol. IV. p. 34, 35.

¹³⁵ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 146.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

son had made a vigorous defence, Frederick wrote back, ' You write to me, as Francis I. wrote to his mother, after the battle of Pavia, *We have lost every thing, except our honour.* ' Nevertheless, I cannot comprehend what has happened, and I suspend my judgment. The affair is very extraordinary ¹³⁶. The fact appears to have been, that Schweidnitz was a place not so easy to be defended [L] against a sudden

¹³⁶ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 147.

[L] General Lloyd says, that the town of SCHWEIDNITZ lies in a fine plain, about three miles distant from the mountains which separate Silesia from Bohemia. It is rich and populous. Originally, when it first came into the power of the Prussians, during the preceding war, it was surrounded only by an old wall, with round towers, in the Gothic manner; but his majesty, considering the advantageous situation of it, as well to facilitate any projects he might hereafter form again Bohemia, as to cover Silesia, resolved to fortify it. Accordingly, on the conclusion of that war, he ordered several redoubts, called star redoubts, because they resemble a star, to be built about it. These were joined by a curtain; and, in the intervals, between the redoubts, were placed some small lunettes, or half-moons; the whole covered by a ditch, with a covered way pallisaded. Of all the species of works, used in fortification, the starry redoubt is the worst; because, by the nature of its construction, it can have no flank: and the re-entering angles take up so much of the ground within, that they cannot contain the number of men and artillery sufficient to defend them; and are, moreover, exposed to be enfiladed from one end to the other; so that it is impossible they should make any considerable defence, when properly attacked.' Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 111, 112.

and

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

and powerful attack, as it was apprehended to be by the king of Prussia, who is said to have been less skilful in fortification, than in any other branch of military science. And after he had drafted four thousand men from the garrison, a sufficient number seem not to have been left for manning the works. General Zastrow, who appears to have been a brave and an able officer, repeatedly and earnestly solicited, to have his conduct examined by a court-martial; but this the king refused, though he caused the general to be imprisoned, and deprived him even of the command of his regiment. In the course of his campaigns several other instances occurred, in which Frederick cashiered and dishonoured respectable officers, without doing them the justice of permitting a court-martial to investigate their conduct [M].

EARLY

[M] An intelligent and well informed writer says, 'The governor of Schweidnitz was sent prisoner to Spandau, for having yielded to general Laudohn, although he had defended the place with great gallantry, and with a handful of men, comparatively speaking, his garrison not having been sufficient to line the ramparts. The governor of Glatz was treated in a still more ungenerous manner on a similar occasion. The king ordered him to be arrested, and conveyed in a common waggon, escorted by two hussars, beyond the outposts of his army, forbidding him, at the same time, on pain of death, ever to set foot again in his dominions. This officer, who was a native of Piedmont, had been originally a private soldier in the guards; and, after forty

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

EARLY in the course of the present year, the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, agreed severally and jointly to offer proposals towards renewing that negotiation for peace, which had been broken off at the beginning of the year 1760. Declarations were accordingly made by those courts, and delivered to the court of London; counter-declarations of a pacific nature were afterwards made by the kings of Great Britain and Prussia; and Augsburgh, as the situation most commodious for the powers at war, was appointed for the congress¹³⁷. A separate negotiation was also afterwards set on foot, in order to settle the particular points in dispute between the courts of Great Britain and France; and some proposals were made tending to a separate peace between those courts. But none of these overtures towards peace were productive of

‘ years service, had risen by his merit to the rank of major-general. His education, and the manner in which he had spent the greatest part of his life, had probably not furnished him with enough of that sort of knowledge, which is requisite to make a good general; but he was certainly a brave and worthy officer, and the king treated him with too much severity.’—‘ His Prussian majesty, though a great man in so many other respects, is but a very indifferent engineer. There are hardly any of his strong places capable of withstanding a regular attack, made by troops that are experienced in this branch of the military art.’ Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 42, 43.

¹³⁷ Annual Register, vol. IV. p. 3, 4.

any immediate effect; and the proposed congress at Augsburgh never was assembled.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

In consequence of having made themselves masters of Schweidnitz, the Austrians obtained such a footing in Silesia, that they obliged the king of Prussia to retreat towards Breslaw [N], and secured winter-quarters for themselves in that province. General Platen also found it impracticable to afford to Colberg the assistance that was intended; he was attacked by a superior body of the Russians, and obliged to retire to Stettin, having previously lost part of his convoy; and, after a siege of six months, Colberg surrendered to the Russians, on the sixteenth of Decem-

[N] Frederick's foresight had led him to fortify an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Breslaw; and from this time, he says, he 'found himself rigorously restrained to be on the defensive; but it was necessary that this should not be known to Laudohn, as this would have given him an advantage over the Prussians. The better to disguise his intentions, the king issued orders to the army to prepare for battle; to re-load the musquets, and sharpen their sword-blades; and that sufficient ammunition should be distributed to the artillery. Great preparations and great projects were talked of; and the known Austrian spies, who were in the army, set off immediately to carry the intelligence to Laudohn. It may, perhaps, appear incredible to posterity, that this army of Austrians and Russians, encamped on the hills of Kunzendorf, three days march from the Prussians, passed eight nights under arms, in momentary expectation of an attack.' Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans, tome II. p. 239.

240.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

ber, the governor, colonel Heyde, and the garrison, by whom the place had been very gallantly defended, being made prisoners of war¹³⁸. But previously to this event, a treaty had been concluded between the king of Prussia and the Ottoman porte; and Frederick was not without hopes of being able to engage the Turks so much in his favour, as to find such employment for the Russians, as might prevent them from making any farther inroads into his dominions.

TOWARDS the close of this year, the baron Wargotsch, a Silesian nobleman, who came often to the Prussian camp, where he was well received by Frederick and his officers, is said to have formed a scheme to deliver the king into the hands of the Austrians. He informed himself, with great exactness, of every thing that passed in the camp; and acquainted the Austrians, that the king rode out every day to reconnoitre, attended only by three or four persons on horseback; and he appointed with the Austrian general a day, and an hour, for carrying him off. The baron had chosen, for his associate in this scheme, the curate of the village in which the king resided. The curate used to carry the letters to the Austrian posts. The affair was discovered by means of one of the baron's own servants, who, from circumstances, or what he had

¹³⁸ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. V. p. 143, 144. Annual Register, vol. IV. p. 36.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

over-heard, between his master and the curate, had collected some knowledge of the design. One day, just as the king was getting on horse-back, this servant of the baron came and threw himself at his majesty's feet, presenting him at the same time with a letter, which his master had ordered him to deliver to the curate. 'Sire,' said he, 'I believe this letter concerns your majesty.' Frederick opened the letter, and perceiving in it clear indications of the conspiracy, he immediately sent to reconnoitre if there was really an ambuscade at the place mentioned; and the moment he was convinced of the fact, he dispatched an officer, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, with orders to arrest the baron, who, under pretence of business, was gone to sleep at one of his seats, two miles from the king's quarters. The officer, who knew nothing of the king's motives for issuing this order, delivered it with much politeness to the baron, who received it with great seeming tranquility and good humour, and desired the officer to breakfast with him. Wargotsch acted his part with so much dexterity and ease, that the officer permitted him to retire for a few minutes into another apartment. From that apartment, he made his escape out of a window; and, having immediately mounted a horse, he had got to a considerable distance, before the officer suspected his escape. It was then impossible to overtake him.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1761.

When the king was informed, on the officer's return, of his ill success, he only said to him, with great coolness, 'Get back to your regiment; you are a very awkward fellow; and I shall certainly never again employ you in such a commission'¹³⁹.

ON the ninth of October, 1761, Mr. WILLIAM PITT, secretary of state to the king of Great Britain, resigned his employment. By that event, which had been produced by court cabals, one of the most illustrious ministers of state that ever existed, was removed from his office, in order to make way for a man, as prime-minister, who was the personal favourite of the king, but who had never exhibited the least trace of political ability. The war continued to be carried on for some time, after the removal of Mr. PITT from power; and some of the plans, which had been previously formed by that great statesman, were successfully prosecuted. The subsidy, however, which had hitherto been paid by Great Britain to the king of Prussia, was now withheld; and a separate peace with France was afterwards concluded at Paris; but it was extremely inadequate to the very brilliant successes that had been obtained on the part of Great Britain; and, in the negotiation

¹³⁹ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 151, 152, 153. Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the king of Prussia, &c. p. 15, 16, 17.

of it, no proper regard was paid, either to the honour, or to the interest of the nation.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

AN event took place early in the year 1762, which was highly favourable to the affairs of the king of Prussia. This was the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, who was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. The late empress had an inveterate personal dislike to the king of Prussia, who by her death was delivered from one of his most formidable enemies; for her successor entertained very different sentiments respecting the Prussian monarch [o]. He even professed the highest admiration for the great qualities of Frederick; and expressed at the same time the strongest desire that a general peace might immediately take place. He caused a memorial to be delivered to the Imperial, French, and

[o] The new emperor, some years before his accession, as duke of Holstein, had accepted of the Prussian order of the black eagle. In allusion to this circumstance, and to the large Russian army which was employed against the king of Prussia at the time of Peter's accession, Frederick introduced the following passage, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, then the British minister at the Russian court: 'Is not this (meaning the emperor) a very extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the garter did the same, your England (England though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him, that it is against the institutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand master.' Annual Register, vol. V. p. 13.

Swedish

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

Swedish ministers, resident at Petersburgh, on the twenty-third of February, 1762, in which he declared, that 'in order to the establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts would, on their parts, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquility, to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war; but which they could not obtain, but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood¹⁴⁰.'

On the sixteenth of March following, a suspension of hostilities was concluded between the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia; on the fifth of May, they entered into a treaty of peace and alliance; and Colberg, and the other places which had been taken by the Russians, were restored to the Prussian monarch. The new czar also agreed to join his troops to those of Frederick, in order to act against those powers who had been in alliance with Russia, but who were enemies to the king of Prussia. He even wore the Prussian uniform, which gave great offence to his subjects. He likewise exasperated the Russian soldiers, by speaking of them with contempt; and made enemies of the Russian clergy, by seizing great part of their revenues, and issuing an order, that they should no longer be distinguished by wearing their beards. Some

¹⁴⁰ Annual Register, vol. V. p. 13.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

of his troops were directed to proceed for Poland, to act under the orders of the king of Prussia [P]; but before they could afford him any effectual assistance, a revolution took place in Russia. A conspiracy was formed against Peter III. by his wife; he was deposed, she was raised to the throne, and the death of her husband almost immediately followed. She was stiled Catharine II. and soon after her accession to the sovereignty, she declared to the Prussian minister at the court of Petersburg, ' That she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign [Q]; but that she had thought proper, ' never-

[P] Some of the Russian troops joined the Prussian army, and were exercised by the king. It is said, that these new allies were very well treated. They were not suffered to want brandy; and the Cossacks called the Prussians comrades, and crowded round the king, in order to take a view of him. *Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 155.*

[Q] It is said, that on the accession of the new empress, it was intended to renew the war with the king of Prussia, who had corresponded with the late emperor, and was suspected to have given him advice unfavourable to the empress. One of Peter's schemes was, to put the empress into a monastery; and this project, as well as others, he had communicated to the king of Prussia. The very next day after the czar's death, some of the Russian senators examined, in the presence, as we are informed, of the empress, the letters which he had received from the king of Prussia. But they were found to contain advice of a very different nature from what had been expected. In these letters the king advised the emperor, to stay

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

‘ nevertheless, to order back to Russia, by the
‘ nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia,
‘ and Pomerania ¹⁴¹.’

Soon after peace was concluded between the late emperor of Russia and the Prussian monarch, a peace was also concluded between the king and the Swedes. But on the very next day after orders arrived at the Prussian camp, for the Russians to separate themselves from the Prussian army, and to return into their own country, Frederick attacked the Austrian army under marechal Daun. As he could no longer derive any advantage from the arms of the Russians, he endeavoured at least to profit by their appearance in his camp; and accordingly attacked the Austrians before they could receive any news of the recall of the Russian troops. The right wing of the Austrian

stay in Russia, and not to come into Germany; to look upon his subjects as his children, and to give them no just cause of complaint; to make no alterations in the fundamental laws of the country; to maintain the church, religion, and clergy of the empire, in the same state in which he found them; and to treat the empress with moderation, and live with her as his wife. On the perusal of these letters, the empress, we are told, burst into tears of gratitude; and declared, that she must either be a monster, or bear to the king of Prussia as much affection, as she had hatred to him before. Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. V. p. 345, 346. Annual Register, vol. V. p. 22. Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 160.

¹⁴¹ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 438.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

army occupied the heights of Buckersdorff in Silesia; and Frederick drove them from that eminence, and from some neighbouring villages, in which they were advantageously posted. He killed and wounded about a thousand of the Austrians, and took one thousand prisoners, together with fourteen pieces of cannon. This success was not owing only to the spirit of the king's attack, but also to an apprehension of the Austrians, that the whole united army of the Prussians and Muscovites was on the point of engaging them: so that Frederick made some use of his new allies, even in the very moment in which they were deserting him¹⁴². This affair was, indeed, only an attack of posts; but its consequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialists with Schweidnitz was thereby entirely cut off. Frederick immediately prepared to besiege that important place, and the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of July. But a very obstinate defence was made by the Austrians; and Schweidnitz did not surrender to the king of Prussia till the ninth of October. The Austrians had two thousand men killed in the siege; and the Prussians lost upwards of three thousand¹⁴³. The remainder of the garrison, which consisted of about eight thousand men, were made prisoners of war; and a

¹⁴² Annual Register, ubi supra, p. 23. ¹⁴³ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. V, p. 397.

great

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

great part of these were drowned at the mouth of the Oder, on their passage to Königsberg, which was destined for the place of their confinement.

WHILE the king of Prussia was thus successful against the Austrians in Silesia, his brother, who commanded in Saxony, was chiefly employed in acting on the defensive. This, however, was not agreeable to his own inclinations: for prince Henry, who had great courage, and great military talents, was extremely desirous of distinguishing himself. But the greatest part of the army in Saxony, under his command, consisted of garrison regiments, and free battalions, which were considered as the worst troops in the Prussian service. He had, however, contrived, from the beginning of the campaign, by the judicious choice of his posts, to keep the Austrian general, the prince of Stolberg, at bay, though the latter was greatly superior to him in the number of his troops. The king assured his brother, from time to time, that the moment it would be proper for him to act offensively, he would send him a reinforcement of fifteen thousand of his best troops. But Henry was piqued at being obliged to act so long on the defensive; and at length manœuvred with so much skill, that the Austrian general suffered himself to be drawn into a situation, which the prince thought to be a very advantageous one for him, if a battle should take place.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

place. Of this the prince acquainted the king, and requested an immediate reinforcement. The messenger returned, in twenty hours, with intelligence, that Frederick was advancing in person to his assistance, at the head of a considerable body of troops¹⁴⁴. But prince Henry was unwilling to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy, and was probably desirous of gaining a victory before the arrival of his brother; who, he knew, would carry off most of the honour, if he arrived in time. Without waiting, therefore, for the promised succours, he attacked the united army of Imperialists and Austrians, commanded by the prince of Stolberg, near FREYBERG, on the twenty-ninth of October. The action commenced at day-break, and lasted till two in the afternoon, when the Austrians and Imperialists were totally defeated. Four thousand prisoners were taken by the Prussians, together with thirty pieces of cannon; and the Austrians were obliged to abandon the town of Freyberg¹⁴⁵. The king himself arrived the day after the battle.

Soon after this action, a strong detachment of Prussian troops, under the command of general Kleist, made an irruption into Bohemia, where they raised contributions almost to the very gates

¹⁴⁴ Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the king of Prussia, p. 62, 63.

¹⁴⁵ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. V. p. 398.

of

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

of Prague, and destroyed several Austrian magazines, particularly at Saatz, which were valued at nine hundred thousand florins¹⁴⁶. About this time the king of Prussia artfully proposed to the court of Vienna, a suspension of arms between their respective armies in Saxony and Silesia, during the winter. The proposal was readily acceded to on the part of the empress-queen; after which the Austrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters, where they expected to enjoy some repose. But it soon appeared, that this impolitic and partial truce was extremely pernicious to the Austrian cause: for it had not provided for the security either of the immediate dominions of the house of Austria, or of those members of the empire which were the most attached to its interests. Accordingly when the Austrian and Imperial troops had entered their winter-quarters, a large body of Prussian troops was assembled, under the command of general Kleist, who marched directly into Franconia, where they began immediately to raise heavy contributions, and compelled great numbers of men to enter into the Prussian service. In the mean time, the Imperial and Austrian generals could neither assemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, till they had received fresh orders from Vienna. The Prussian

¹⁴⁶ Entick, ubi supra, p. 399.

troops,

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1762.

troops, therefore, spread themselves, without opposition, over almost the whole circle of Franconia, where they raised great sums of money. From the free city of Nuremberg alone they demanded three millions of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off some of the magistrates as hostages for the rest. Even the city of Ratisbon itself began to apprehend a visit; and, therefore, applied to baron Plotho, the Prussian minister at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect. The baron frankly told the magistrates, that if they refused to pay the contribution, which his master's troops should demand, when they came to pay them a visit, they must expect to be compelled by force. But, soon after the Prussians had entered Franconia, a declaration was made by the Prussian minister at the diet to the following purport: ' That as
' all his master's declarations to the states of the
' empire had produced no effect, he was now
' resolved to employ more effectual means to
' make them recall their troops from the Austrian
' army; and was accordingly marching three
' different corps into the empire; one of which
' had already entered Franconia, the second was
' taking the route of Swabia, and the third
' would pass through Bavaria: that they would
' every where conduct themselves according to
' the exigencies of war; but, as to the diet of the
Vol. II. S ' empire,

CHAP. ' empire, he had orders to give assurances, that
XXXI. ' it should not be in the least disturbed ¹⁴⁷.
A. D.
1762.

ABOUT this time a body of Prussian troops had laid the greater part of the city of Egra, in Bohemia, in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red hot bullets; and in the several predatory expeditions of the Prussian troops at this period, they are supposed to have levied a sum equivalent to a million sterling. Many of the princes and states of Germany, therefore, found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages ¹⁴⁸; so that, in a short time, all the troops, which composed the army of the empire, began their march for the countries of their respective sovereigns ¹⁴⁹.

ON the third of November, 1762, preliminary articles of peace were signed at Fontainebleau between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain [R]; and as the court of Vienna was now deserted

¹⁴⁷ Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. V. p. 400.

¹⁴⁸ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 439.

¹⁴⁹ Entick, ut supra, p. 401.

[R] The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, was concluded at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763. It gave great offence to a large part of the English nation, who justly considered it as extremely inadequate to the very brilliant successes that had been obtained by the arms of Great Britain. Count Algarotti, who, as a foreigner, may be regarded as an impartial judge, has taken some pains to shew, that the terms were much less advantageous to the British nation than they ought to have been. After stating

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1763.

deserted by Russia, and by the army of the empire, and the court of France was solicitous for the establishment of peace, the empress-queen was induced, though reluctantly, to enter into a negociation with the king of Prussia. M. Hertzberg acted as Frederick's minister on this occasion; and a treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between the empress-queen and the king of Prussia, at the castle of Hubertsbourg, near Dresden, on the fifteenth of February, 1763. A treaty of peace was also concluded between the Prussian monarch and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and that unfortunate prince was again restored to his electoral dominions[s]. But no indemnification was made to him for the usurpation of his dominions, or for the numerous

stating such terms as he thinks ought to have been insisted on, he says, ' If that noble structure, the Temple of Peace, had been raised on such foundations as these, the English might have spoken in a loftier tone at Versailles, and could not have been said to have made war like lions, and peace like lambs. At any rate it were to have been wished, for the prosperity of England, that he who had so nobly conducted the war, should also have been the person to adjust the peace.' Letters military and political, p. 163.

[s] The king of Poland arrived at his palace at Dresden, accompanied by his prime minister, count Bruhl, on the thirtieth of April, 1763; but he did not long survive his restoration to his dominions; for he died on the fifth of October following. He was succeeded, as elector of Saxony, by his eldest son, prince Frederick, who also died before the expiration of the year.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1763.

depredations, and acts of violence, injustice, and cruelty, that had been committed upon his subjects.

By the treaty of HUBERTSBOURG, it was agreed, that there should be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and sincere union, and perfect friendship, between the apostolic empress-queen on the one part, and the king of Prussia on the other, their heirs and successors; that every thing that had passed, on either side, during the war, was to be buried in a general and eternal oblivion; that both parties should renounce all claims on each others dominions or territories; in particular, that the empress-queen should renounce all claim to those which were ceded to the king of Prussia, by the preliminary articles of Breslaw, and the treaty of Berlin; that all hostilities were entirely to cease on both sides, from the day of signing the treaty; that the empress-queen was to withdraw her troops from all the countries and states of Germany, which were not under her dominion, within the space of twenty-one days, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; and within the same term she was to cause to be evacuated, and restored to the king of Prussia, the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the states, countries, towns, places, and fortresses, which his Prussian majesty possessed before the war. The fortresses of Glatz, Wesel, and Gueldres, were to be re-

I stored

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1763.

stored to him in the same state, with regard to the fortifications, in which they were, and with the artillery that was found in them, when they were taken. In the same space of time, the king of Prussia was to restore all the places that he had taken, in Saxony, or elsewhere. It was also agreed, that all prisoners of war, of whatever rank, were to be immediately restored without ransom, on payment of the debts contracted during their captivity; and the subjects of either party, forced to enter into the service of the other, were to be discharged. The empress-queen was to return all the deeds, writings, and letters, belonging to the places restored to the king of Prussia; and he was to confirm the nominations made by the empress-queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the excise, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres. The two powers likewise mutually guarantied the whole of each other's dominions, those belonging to the empress-queen out of Germany excepted¹¹⁰. The king of Prussia at the same time agreed, by a secret article, to give his suffrage for electing the archduke Joseph king of the Romans¹¹¹; and accordingly that event took place the year following.

¹¹⁰ Annual Register, vol. V. p. 247, 248, 249. Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. V. p. 401, 402, 403.

¹¹¹ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 176, Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 25, 26.

CHAP.
XXXI.
A. D.
1763.

Thus ended, what is called in Germany, THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, between the king of Prussia, and the great and powerful princes, with whom he had engaged in hostilities. It was one of the most sanguinary wars by which the world has been desolated; and in which the stand that Frederick made against such numerous armies, and such a confederacy of potent princes, was a just subject of universal astonishment. But the military fame that he thereby acquired, was but a trifling compensation to his subjects, for the evils and calamities that they had suffered, and for the great effusion of human blood which had been produced, by his ambition, and by that jealousy, which his numerous standing army, and his conduct towards his neighbours, had naturally inspired.

CHAP

C H A P. XXXII.

Frederick returns to Berlin, after an absence of more than six years.—Donations to his subjects, who had suffered during the war.—Visits his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia.—Rebuilds the towns and villages destroyed during the war, and encourages agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.—Receives an ambassador from Mustapha III. emperor of the Turks.—His correspondence with M. D'Alembert.—Release of baron Trenck from his confinement at Magdeburg.

PEACE being now completely established, by the treaty of Hubertsbourg, Frederick returned once more to his capital, from which he had been absent more than six years. He arrived at his palace at Berlin, about nine in the evening, on the thirtieth of March, 1763. He was received by the princes of the blood, foreign ministers, and principal nobility, who were assembled on the occasion. Rejoicings and illuminations were continued in the city for several days after his arrival; and, on the fourth of April, at eight o'clock at night, he went through most of the streets of Berlin, in an open chariot, accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, in order to view the illuminations, and the de-

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

vices that were invented to celebrate his victories. On this occasion, as well as at his arrival, he was every where saluted with loud and general acclamations, of 'Long live our king and father!' To these acclamations he replied, 'Long live my dear subjects, my beloved children¹⁵².'

Soon after his arrival at Berlin, the king made some magnificent presents to the queen and royal family. He also made fundry liberal donations for the relief of the poor, in those parts of his dominions which had suffered, during the war, by the inroads of the enemy. To many of his disbanded soldiers, he distributed lands; and he gave them the horses of his artillery, to assist them in the cultivation of the lands that he had given them¹⁵³.

On the twentieth of May, the king set out on a journey to visit his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia; and in part of his journey he was accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with whom, on the fourth of June, he took a view of the ground on which the battle of Minden had been fought. He arrived at Wesel two days after, where he examined the fortifications and the citadel. He then proceeded to Crevelt, and from thence to Cleves; and, on the seventeenth of the month,

¹⁵² Annual Register, vol. VI. p. 73.
vol. V. p. 63.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

he arrived at Hanover, where he was waited upon by the two princes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. From Hanover he proceeded to Brunswick, and soon after returned to Berlin.

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

HAVING afterwards visited the other parts of his dominions, Frederick applied himself to the restoration of his desolated provinces, to the re-establishment of his finances, and to the encouragement of agriculture. He began to rebuild the towns and villages that had been destroyed during the war; and he gave considerable sums to many of his nobility, in order to enable them to pay their debts, and to cultivate their waste lands; and of this he himself gave them an example in the royal demesnes, by cutting down woods, draining marshes, and making various improvements. He also established new manufactures, gave directions for making navigable canals, and by sundry methods endeavoured to extend the commerce of his subjects. But notwithstanding the regard which he paid at this period to the arts of peace, his army still continued to be a prime object of his attention. He so completely recruited his regiments, that, after the peace of Hubertsbourg, his army amounted to two hundred thousand men; and this formidable force he continued constantly to maintain¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁴ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année de la vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, par le comte de Hertzberg. p. 21, 22.

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

IN the course of this year, Frederick concluded a treaty of alliance with the empress of Russia; and, on the ninth of November, Achmet Effendi, ambassador from Mustapha III. emperor of the Turks, to the king of Prussia, made his public entry into Berlin. He was attended by a troop of Janissaries, and a numerous retinue; and brought a number of fine horses, and other presents, for the king. One design of his embassy was, to compliment the Prussian monarch, upon the glorious peace that he had lately concluded at Hubertsbourg¹⁵⁵. When Frederick received the Turkish ambassador [τ], he was dressed with unusual magnificence. It was said, that the diamond buttons on his cloaths, and the hat which he wore on this occasion, were valued at more than five hundred thousand pounds. This

¹⁵⁵ Vie de Frédéric II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 177, 178.

[τ] Achmet Effendi attended a meeting of the academy of sciences at Berlin, on which occasion M. Formey, the perpetual secretary, made a speech, of which, it is said, the Turk understood nothing. At the same time, a new-invented machine was exhibited to the academy. As the members pressed round the table, on which the machine was placed, the ambassador found himself too much crowded. He, therefore, pushed aside those who stood next him, and jumped upon the table, on which he seated himself in the oriental manner, that he might examine the machine more at his ease. M. Formey had much difficulty to preserve his gravity; and the members of the academy left off examining the machine, and fixed their attention wholly upon the ambassador. Vie de Frédéric II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 285.

seems

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

seems to have been the last time of his appearing with such splendour: for, in general, after his seven years war, he was more frugal with respect to cloaths, than he had been in the former part of his life. From that period, except on this occasion, he confined himself, on great public days, to a suit of blue velvet, embroidered with silver, and which was never worn but at such times of court magnificence.

IN the year 1763, M. D'ALEMBERT spent some weeks at Berlin and Potsdam¹⁵⁶. He had for some time corresponded with the king of Prussia, who had a great esteem for him, and was extremely desirous of drawing him to his court. But D'Alembert was much attached to Paris, and could not be prevailed with to take up his residence in the Prussian dominions. After the death of Maupertuis, Frederick often consulted D'Alembert about the choice of proper persons to fill up vacancies in the royal academy at Berlin; and paid great regard to his recommendations. Upwards of two hundred letters, which passed between Frederick and D'Alembert, have been published in the king's correspondence. In one of D'Alembert's letters, he desired to know the king's opinion, relative to the war between Great Britain and the American colonies. Frederick replied, ' You wish to know,

¹⁵⁶ La Prusse Littéraire sous Frederic II. par l'Abbe Denina, tome I. p. 195.

' what

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

‘ what I think of the conduct of the English. I
‘ think with the public, that they have sinned
‘ against good faith, by not keeping the compact
‘ which they had made with their colonies ; and,
‘ by an ill-timed declaration of war, against one
‘ of the American states, from which nothing
‘ but evil could result. The English were
‘ stupidly ignorant of the strength of the colo-
‘ nies ; and imagined they might be subjected
‘ by general Gage, with five or six thousand men,
‘ They have hired troops without having pro-
‘ vided transports to convey them to America ;
‘ and they have bought provisions in the London
‘ markets for an army which was to fight in
‘ Pennsylvania. In short, there are no kind of
‘ blunders with which they may not be re-
‘ proached. Why separate the corps which
‘ Carleton commanded, and that of which Bur-
‘ goyne is the head, by a distance of three hun-
‘ dred miles ? How could these corps, at so
‘ great a distance, afford each other mutual
‘ assistance ? In a situation like this, was it ne-
‘ cessary, in pure gaiety of heart, to quarrel with
‘ the Russians ; to offend the Dutch by their in-
‘ solent arrogance ; and, by their ill conduct, to
‘ increase the number of their enemies¹⁵⁷ ?’ In
a letter of D’Alembert to the king, written after-
wards, is the following passage on the same sub-

¹⁵⁷ Posthumous Works, vol. XII. p. 99.

ect: ' Well may your majesty say, the English parliament is not very philosophic, and that its conduct is that of a legion of lunatics. We wait with impatience for the interesting news of the close of the campaign, which, fortunately for the enemies of England, and unfortunately for humanity, will probably not be the last. The meeting of the parliament is the moment on which much depends. We shall see, whether England will consent to ruin herself, that she may completely lay waste and depopulate her colonies ¹⁵⁸.' In another letter Frederick says, ' The English nation, said to be so profound, has had superficial ministers, who have stripped it of its superfluous wealth, which it turned to abuse, and occasioned it to lose possessions which were but its burthen. They have bravely laboured for its abasement, intending, no doubt, to temper the excess to which it carried its haughtiness, and the disdain in which it had held the rest of Europe. An hundred years hence, he, among our contemporaries, who should rise from the dead, would no longer know our continent ¹⁵⁹.'

On the twenty-fourth of December, 1763, baron TRENCK, who had been imprisoned at Magdeburg for more than nine years, and with such circumstances of unfeeling cruelty, as will ever reflect extreme dishonour on the king of

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 113.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 330, 331.

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

Prussia, was released from his confinement. This gentleman, who was a native of Konisberg, in Prussia, and descended from one of the most antient and respectable families in that country, had received a commission in the Prussian horse guards, when he was only eighteen years of age, and was treated by the king with great favour and distinction [u]. He had been educated at the

[u] Baron TRENCK was sent to the university of Konigsberg at the age of thirteen, and made a rapid progress in literature. But he had strong passions, and had fought three duels when he was about sixteen. Duelling at that time was very common in that university. In his account of his own life, he informs us, that, at that time, 'the university of Konigsberg was still highly privileged. To send a challenge was held honourable; and this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to prevent, considering the great number of proud, hot-headed, and turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to study, and of whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the university into disrepute, and the abuse has been endeavoured to be remedied.'

In 1742, baron Lottum, who was related to Trenck's mother, and who happened then to be at Konigsberg, persuaded him to enter into the army, telling him, that he would find 'much better opportunities of sending challenges, in the army, than in the university.' He very readily complied with the proposal, and set out for Potsdam a few days after. 'On the morrow after my arrival,' says the baron, 'I was presented to the king, as, indeed, I had before been, in the year 1740, with the character of being, then, one of the most hopeful youths of the university. My reception was most flattering. The justness of my replies to the questions

he

the university of Königsberg, where he gave early evidences of genius, and of courage; but

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

he put, my height, figure, and confidence pleased him; and I soon obtained permission to enter as a cadet in his body guards, with a promise of quick preferment.—‘I had scarcely been six weeks a cadet, before the king took me aside, one day, after the parade, and, having examined me near half an hour, on various subjects, commanded me to come and speak to him on the morrow.

His intention was, to find whether the accounts, that had been given him of my memory, had not been exaggerated; and, that he might be convinced, he first gave me the names of fifty soldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next repeated the subjects of two letters, which I immediately composed in French and Latin: the one I wrote, the other I dictated. He next ordered me to trace, with promptitude, a landscape from nature, which I executed with equal success; and he then gave me a cornet’s commission in his body guards.

Each mark of bounty, from the monarch, increased an ardour already great, inspired me with gratitude, and the first of my wishes was, to devote my whole life to the service of my king and country. He spoke to me, as a sovereign should speak, like a father, like one who knew well how to estimate the gifts bestowed on me by nature; and perceiving, or rather feeling, how much he might expect from me, became at once my instructor, and my friend. Thus did I remain a cadet only six weeks, and few Prussians can vaunt, under the reign of Frederick, of equal good fortune. The king not only presented me with a commission, but equipped me splendidly for the service. Thus did I suddenly find myself a courtier, and an officer in the finest, bravest, and best taught corps in Europe.’ Life of Baron Frederick Trenck, translated from the German by Mr. Holcroft, vol. I. p. 12—21.

his

CHAP. his passions were somewhat impetuous, and he
 XXXII. was extremely high spirited. He found the ser-
 A. D. vice in which he was employed, in the king's
 1763. body guard, attended with much fatigue [x];
 but

[x] Of Frederick's horse guards, and the fatigues that they underwent even in time of peace, baron Trenck gives the following account: ' The body guards formed, at this time, a model and school for the Prussian cavalry: it consisted of one single squadron of men, selected from the whole army, whose uniform was the most splendid in all Europe. Two thousand rix-dollars were necessary to equip an officer: the cuirass was wholly plated with silver; and the horse furniture and accoutrements alone cost four hundred rix-dollars. This squadron only consisted of six officers, and a hundred and forty-four men; but there were always fifty or sixty supernumeraries, and as many horses; for the king incorporated all the most handsome men he found in these guards. The officers were the best taught of any the army contained. The king himself formed them; and afterwards sent them to instruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. Their rise was rapid, if they behaved well; but they were broken for the least fault, and punished by being sent to garrison regiments. It was, likewise, necessary that they should be tolerably rich, as well as possess such talents, as might be successfully employed, both at court, and in the army.

' There are no soldiers in the world, who undergo so much as this body guard: for, during the time I was in the service of Frederick, I often had not eight hours sleep in eight days. Exercise began at four in the morning; and experiments were made of all the alterations, which the king meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of three, four, five, six feet, and still wider, were leaped, till some one broke his neck; hedges, in like manner, were freed, and



and he
d the ser-
ne king's
gue [x];
but

es that they
ves the fol-
his time, a
lsted of one
rmy, whose
Two thou-
the cuirass
rniture and
ars. This
ndred and
ixty super-
ncorporated
ards. The
contained.

sent them
had learnt,
they were
ing sent to
that they
talents, as
and in the

o so much
in the ser-
p in eight
nd experi-
the king
of three,
till some
ere freed,
and

but he still continued the pursuits of learning, and was introduced to the king's literary friends [Y].

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

WHEN

and the horse ran careers, meeting each other full speed, in a kind of lists of more than half a league in length. We had often, in these our exercises, several men and horses killed or wounded.

It happened, more frequently than otherwise, that the same experiments were repeated after dinner with fresh horses; and it was not uncommon, at Potsdam, to hear the alarm sounded twice in the night. The horses stood in the king's stables; and whoever had not dressed, armed himself, saddled his horse, mounted, and appeared before the palace in eight minutes, was put under arrest for fourteen days. Scarcely were the eyes closed, before the trumpet again sounded, to accustom youth to vigilance. I lost, in one year, three horses, which had either broken their legs, in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue. I cannot give a stronger picture of this service, than by saying, that the body guard lost more men and horses in one year's peace, than, during the following year, they did in two battles.

We had, at this time, three stations. Our service, during winter, was at Berlin; where we attended the opera, and all public festivals. In the spring, we were exercised at Charlottenburgh; and at Potsdam, or wherever the king went, during the summer. The six officers of the guard dined with the king; and, on gala days, with the queen. It may be presumed, that there was not, at that time, on earth, a better school to form an officer, and a man of the world, than was the court of Berlin.' Life, translated by Mr. Holcroft, ut supra, p. 15—19.

[Y] 'Frederick,' says the baron, 'commanded me to visit the literati, whom he had invited to his court. MAUPERTUIS, JORDAN, LA METTRIE, and POLLNITZ, were all

VOL. II.

T

'my

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

WHEN the princess Ulrica married the prince-royal of Sweden, baron Trenck escorted her as far as Stettin; and on this occasion an amour commenced between him and the princess Amelia, another sister of the king [z]. From this lady

‘ my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of
‘ an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz
‘ was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happiness
‘ was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet
‘ eleven inches in height; and Nature had endowed me with
‘ every requisite to please. I lived, as I vainly imagined,
‘ without exciting enmity or malice; and my mind was wholly
‘ occupied by the desire of acquiring well founded fame.’
Life, ut supra, p. 22.

[z] The baron speaking of this princess, though without mentioning her name, says, ‘ To her conversation, to her
‘ prudence, to the power by which she rivetted my affections
‘ wholly to herself, am I indebted for the improvement and
‘ polishing of my bodily and mental qualities. She never
‘ despised, betrayed, or abandoned me, even in the deepest of
‘ my distress.’ Life, ut supra, p. 25. He afterwards says,
‘ I lived, at this time, perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly
‘ esteemed. The king testified his approbation at every
‘ opportunity; my mistress supplied me with more money
‘ than I could expend; and I was, presently, the best equipped,
‘ and made the greatest figure, of any officer in the whole
‘ corps. The style in which I lived was remarked; for I had
‘ only received from my father’s heritage the estate of Great
‘ Scarlach, the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a
‘ year; which was far from sufficient to supply my then
‘ expences. My amour, in the mean time, remained a secret
‘ from my best and most intimate friends. Twice was my
‘ absence from Potsdam and Charlottenburg discovered, and I
‘ was put under arrest; but the king seemed satisfied with the
‘ excuses

lady he often received considerable presents, which enabled him to live with more splendour than his own fortune would have permitted. He attended the king, with the rest of the guards, into Silesia and Bohemia, in the campaigns of 1744 and 1745; was made adjutant to the king, and was present in the battles of Hohen Friedberg and Sohr, in the former of which he was wounded. But it happened unfortunately for baron Trenck, that he was first cousin to another baron Trenck, who was a famous partisan in the Austrian service; and this relationship proved to him a source of great calamity. The Austrian Trenck, who had no children, and was very wealthy, had written to the mother of the Prussian Trenck, that he intended to make her son his heir. The Austrian Trenck also sent back two horses belonging to his Prussian cousin, which had been taken by the hussars under his command. These circumstances excited in the king some suspicion of baron Trenck's fidelity; and these suspicions were artfully increased by an officer of the guards, who had a personal animosity against the baron, and did all he could to injure him. At length, when the Prussian troops were in Bohemia, a letter came to the baron,

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

'excuses I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and smiled as he granted my pardon. Never did the days of youth glide away, with more apparent success, and pleasure, than during these my first years at Berlin.' Ibid. p. 26, 27.

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

written as from his Austrian cousin, and containing some overtures to him to enter into the Austrian service. This letter he supposes to have been forged; but he communicated it very frankly to his brother officers; and, as he wrote no answer to it, expected from it no ill consequences. Such use, however, was made of it, in order to incense the king against him, that he was arrested, deprived of his commission, and imprisoned in the fortrefs of Glatz. He wrote to the king, soliciting to be tried by a court martial, and declaring, that he desired no favour, if any crime could be proved against him: but no answer was returned. The princess Amelia continued to correspond with him, and expressed her confidence in his innocence. She also condemned the precipitate anger, and unjust suspicions, of the king her brother, and sent the baron a thousand ducats. After peace was concluded, finding that his imprisonment was still continued, he grew impatient of his confinement [A], and made several desperate [B], but
unsuc-

[A] He learned afterwards, that, till his attempts to escape, the king had condemned him only to a year's imprisonment; but it was given out at Glatz, that he was to be imprisoned for life.

[B] Of one of these unsuccessful, but desperate attempts, which was made eight days after a former of the same nature, he has given himself the following account: 'Major Doo came to visit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard,

and

unsuccessful efforts to escape. He at length, however, found means to effectuate his escape,

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

and an adjutant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he addressed me, taxing me with a second crime in endeavouring to obtain my liberty; adding, this must, certainly, increase the anger of the king. My blood boiled at the word crime. He talked of patience. I asked, how long the king had condemned me to imprisonment? He answered, a traitor to his country, who has corresponded with the enemy, cannot be condemned for a certain time; but must depend, for grace and pardon, upon the king. At that instant, I snatched his sword from his side, on which my eyes had some time been fixed, sprang out of the door, threw the centinel from the top to the bottom of the stairs, passed the guard who happened to be drawn up before the prison door to relieve guard, attacked them sword in hand, threw them suddenly into surprize by the manner in which I laid about me, wounded four men, made way through the rest, sprang over the breast-work of the ramparts, and, with my sword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this astonishing height, without receiving the least injury. I leaped the second wall, with equal safety and good fortune. None of their arms were loaded: no one durst leap after me; and, in order to pursue, they must go round through the town and the gate of the citadel; so that I had the start full half an hour. A sentinel, however, in a narrow passage, endeavoured to oppose my flight; but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A second sentinel, meantime, came from the outworks, to seize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a spring at the palisadoes: there I was, unluckily, caught by the foot, and received a bayonet wound in my upper lip. Thus entangled, they beat me with the butt-end of their musquets, and dragged me back to prison, while I struggled and defended myself like a man grown desperate.' Life, p. 96—99.

T 3

when

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

when he had been confined at Glatz seventeen months, being assisted and accompanied by an officer, who was discontented with his situation. They encountered great dangers, and great hardships; and baron Trenck afterwards entered into the Russian service, in which he became a captain of dragoons. Whilst he was in this situation, being at Dantzick, a scheme was formed by the Prussian resident in that city, and some Prussian officers in the recruiting service, to seize him, and convey him forcibly into the Prussian territories. But he having received intimation of the plot, found means completely to defeat it, and treated some of the officers concerned in it with such indignity, that this affair greatly increased the animosity of the king of Prussia against him. Trenck was afterwards advantageously introduced at the court of Petersburg, by the friendship of general Bernes, minister to that court from the court of Vienna, and lord Hyndford, minister from the court of Great Britain, both of whom were personally acquainted with the baron, when he was in high favour at Berlin. He had sundry intrigues at Petersburg, and, among others, with the countess Bestucheff, wife to the prime-minister [c].

[c] The baron seems not to have improved his morals, or his principles, by his conversations with La Mettrie, Polnitz, and others of Frederick's favourites at Berlin; but though he was licentious with regard to women, he appears, in other respects, to have had an high sense of integrity and honour.

THE

THE king of Prussia suspected, that Trenck's influence at Petersburg was employed to his disadvantage; and some dishonourable arts were employed by the Prussian minister to ruin him at that court. These arts were not successful; but he afterwards quitted Russia, and entered into the Austrian service. In 1754, when he was a captain of Austrian cavalry, he happened to be at Dantzick, where the king of Prussia's agents, authorized by two of the magistrates of Dantzick, who were attended by twenty grenadiers, seized him in bed, and conveyed him to the city prison, from whence he was soon after sent to Berlin [D]. He was afterwards removed to the citadel of Magdeburg, where he was confined in a dungeon [E], and allowed nothing but a pound

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

[D] It appears, that a short time before this, intimations had been given at Berlin, by some of Trenck's enemies, that he had formed dangerous designs against the king's own person.

[E] He gives the following description of his first dungeon:
 ' My dungeon was in a casemate, the fore part of which, six
 ' feet wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall.
 ' In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance
 ' of the casemate itself. The window, in the seven feet thick
 ' wall, was so situated that, though I had light, I could see
 ' neither heaven nor earth: I could only see the roof of the
 ' magazine. Within and without this window were iron
 ' bars; and, in the space between, an iron grating, so close,
 ' and so situated, by the rising of the walls, that it was im-
 ' possible I should see any person within the prison, or that
 ' any person should see me. On the out-side was a wooden
 ' palisadoe,

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

pound and a half of ammunition bread per day, and a jug of water [F]. He was not at this time put in irons; but having made some extraordinary efforts to escape, and these efforts being discovered, the king, when he came to a review at Magdeburg, went and visited a fort there called the Star-fort, where he commanded a new cell to be made for the confinement of

‘ palisadoe, six feet from the wall, by which the sentinels
‘ were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a
‘ matrafs, and a bedstead, but which was immoveably ironed
‘ to the floor; so that it was impossible I should drag it, and
‘ stand up to the window.’ Life, ut supra, vol. II. p. 1, 2.

[F] At this period of his confinement, he suffered more from hunger, than from any other cause. ‘ From my youth,’ says he, ‘ I had always a good appetite;—and it is impossible
‘ that I should describe the excess of tortures that, during
‘ eleven months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could every
‘ day have easily devoured six pounds of bread; and every
‘ twenty-four hours, after having received and swallowed my
‘ small portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet
‘ must wait another twenty-four hours for a new morsel. How
‘ willingly would I have signed a bill of exchange for a thousand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to have satiated
‘ my hunger on dry bread.’—‘ Some have supposed, that to
‘ eat little might become habitual; but I have experienced
‘ the contrary. My hunger increased every day; and, of all
‘ the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this, of
‘ eleven months, was the most bitter.’—‘ Daily, about noon,
‘ once in twenty-four hours, my pittance of bread and water
‘ was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept, by the
‘ governor: the inner door was not opened, but my bread
‘ and water were delivered through an aperture.’ Life, ut supra, vol. II. p. 3—6.

Trenck,

Trenck, 'prescribing himself,' as the baron
 says, 'the kind of irons by which he was to be
 'secured'¹⁶⁰.

CHAP.
 XXXII.
 A. D.
 1763.

OF his second dungeon, to which he was removed as soon as it was ready, he has given the following description: 'In breadth it was about eight feet; in length ten.'—'In a corner was a seat, four bricks broad, on which I might sit, and recline against the wall. Opposite the ring to which I was fastened, the light was admitted through a semicircular aperture, one foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture ascended to the centre of the wall, which was six feet thick, and at this central part was a close iron grating, from which, outward, the aperture descended, and its two extremities were again secured by strong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by which the light entered, was so covered by the wall of the rampart, that, instead of finding immediate passage, the light only gained admission by reflexion. This, considering the smallness of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, must needs make the obscurity great, yet my eyes, in time, became so accustomed to this glimmering, that I could see a mouse run. In winter, however, when the

¹⁶⁰ Life, translated by Mr. Holcroft, vol. II. p. 27.

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

‘ sun did not shine into the ditch, it was eternal
‘ night with me. Between the bars and the
‘ grating was a glass window, with a small central-
‘ casement, which might be opened to admit
‘ air.—The name of TRENCK was inscribed upon
‘ the wall, and under my feet was a tomb-stone,
‘ with the name of TRENCK also cut on it, and
‘ carved with a death’s head. The doors to my
‘ dungeon were double, of oak, two inches thick:
‘ without these was an open space, or front cell,
‘ in which was a window, and this space was
‘ likewise shut in by double doors. The ditch,
‘ in which this dreadful den was built, was in-
‘ closed on both sides by palisadoes, twelve feet
‘ high, the key of the door of which was entrusted
‘ to the officer of the guard, it being the king’s
‘ intention to prevent all possibility of speech,
‘ or communication with the sentinels ¹⁶¹.’

HE has also given the following account of the
manner in which he was ironed in this new dun-
geon. ‘ Enormous chains were fixed to my
‘ ancle at one end, and at the other to a ring
‘ which was incorporated in the wall. This
‘ ring was three feet from the ground, and only
‘ allowed me to move about two or three feet to
‘ the right and left. They next rivetted another
‘ huge iron ring, of a hand’s breadth, round my
‘ naked body, to which hung a chain, fixed into
‘ an iron bar, as thick as a man’s arm. This

¹⁶¹ Life, p. 34, 35, 36.

‘ bar was two feet in length, and at each end of
 ‘ it was a handcuff ¹⁶².’—‘ The only motion I
 ‘ had the power to make, was that of jumping
 ‘ upward, or swinging my arms, to procure my-
 ‘ self warmth. When more accustomed to these
 ‘ fetters [c], I was likewise capable of moving
 ‘ from side to side, but this pained my shin-
 ‘ bones ¹⁶³.’

CHAP.
 XXXII.
 A. D.
 1763.

SPEAKING of the new dungeon to which he was now removed, and of the time of his first entrance into it, he also says, ‘ The cell had
 ‘ been finished with lime and plaster but eleven
 ‘ days, and every body supposed it would be
 ‘ impossible, that I should exist in these damps
 ‘ above a fortnight. I remained six months,
 ‘ continually immersed in water, that trickled
 ‘ upon me from the thick arches under which I
 ‘ was; and I can safely affirm, that, for the first
 ‘ three months, I was never dry; yet did I con-

¹⁶² Life, p. 31, 32.

[c] In the year 1756, an iron collar was added to his other fetters; and he says, that ‘ the chains that descended from the
 ‘ neck-collar were obliged to be supported first with one hand,
 ‘ and then with the other; for, if thrown behind, they would
 ‘ have strangled me, and, if hanging forward, occasioned most
 ‘ excessive head-achs.’ Ibid. p. 109, 110. Among other barbarities which were exercised towards him, one was, ordering the sentinels to call him every quarter of an hour, and thereby to prevent his sleeping for any long time together. This inhuman practice was continued four years. Ibid. p. 144.

¹⁶³ Ibid. p. 36, 37.

‘ tinue

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

‘ tinue in health. I was visited daily at noon,
‘ after relieving guard, and the doors were then
‘ obliged to be left open for some minutes,
‘ otherwise the dampness of the air put out their
‘ candles.

‘ THIS was my situation, and here I sat, desti-
‘ tute of friend, helplessly wretched, preyed on
‘ by all the torture of thought, that continually
‘ suggested the most gloomy, the most dreadful
‘ of images. My heart was not yet wholly
‘ turned to stone, my fortitude was sunken to
‘ despondency; my dungeon was the very cave
‘ of despair; yet was my arm restrained, yet was
‘ this excess of misery endured. How then may
‘ hope be wholly eradicated from the heart of
‘ man! My fortitude, after some time, began to
‘ revive: I glowed with the desire of convincing
‘ the world, that I was capable of suffering what
‘ man had never suffered before; perhaps of, at
‘ last, emerging from this load of wretchedness,
‘ triumphant over my enemies ¹⁶⁴.

AFTER his confinement in his new dungeon,
the baron was allowed as much bread as he could
eat; and notwithstanding his fetters, he conti-
nued to make a variety of astonishing attempts
to effectuate his escape [H], and some of which

¹⁶⁴ Life, p. 37, 38.

[H] Of these different and extraordinary efforts to obtain
his liberty, he has given a particular account in the narrative
of his life.

were nearly successful. When it was discovered, that he had found means even to disencumber himself of his chains, a large iron collar was put about his neck, and connected with the chains at his feet by additional heavy links [1]. The whole of his fetters amounted to sixty-eight pounds weight. Though none of his own efforts to obtain his liberty were finally successful, they yet greatly contributed to the preservation both of his health and spirits [κ]. He did not gain his

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

[1] In another part of the narrative of his life, he also gives an account of his dress. 'My hands being fixed,' says he, 'and kept asunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I could neither put on shirt nor stockings in the usual mode; the shirt was therefore tied, and changed once a fortnight; the coarse ammunition stockings were buttoned on the sides; a blue garment, of soldier's cloth, was likewise tied round me, and I had a pair of slippers for my feet. The shirt was of the army linen; and when I contemplated myself in this dress of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in such a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or justice, my conscience void of reproach, my heart of guilt; when I reflected on my former splendour in Berlin and Moscow, and compared it with this sad, this dreadful reverse of destiny, I was sunk in grief, or roused to indignation, that might have hurried the greatest hero, or philosopher, to madness or despair. I felt what can only be imagined by him, who has suffered like me, after having, like me, flourished, if such can be found.' Ibid. p. 60, 61.

[κ] 'These bodily labours,' he says, 'these continued inventions, and projected plans, to obtain my freedom, preserved my health. Who would suppose that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exercising himself? By swinging

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

his liberty, till more than nine months after the peace of Hubertsbourg, when he obtained his freedom,

‘ swinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myself into a strong perspiration. After thus wearying myself, I slept soundly, and often thought how many generals, obliged to support all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the field; how many of those who had plunged me into this den of misery, would have been most glad, could they, like me, have slept with a quiet conscience.’ Life, vol. II. p. 61, 62.

In another place in the narrative of his life, many parts of which are written with great animation, he says, ‘ I had read much; had lived in, and seen, much of the world; vacuity of thought, therefore, I was little troubled with. The former transactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the persons I had known, I revolved so often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected, as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exercise so perfect to me, that I could compose speeches, fables, odes, satires, all which I repeated aloud, and had so stored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of these my prison labours. Accustomed to this exercise, days, that would otherwise have been days of misery, appeared but as a moment.—For this I am to thank the industrious acquirements of my youth.—Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may be showered by monarchs upon the most worthless; but monarchs can give and take, say and unsay, raise and pull down. Monarchs, however, can neither give wisdom nor virtue. Arbitrary power itself, here, and before these, is foiled. How wisely has Providence ordained, that the endowments of industry, learning, and science, given by our-
selves,

freedom, in consequence of the application of the Austrian ambassador [L], having then been imprisoned at Magdeburg more than nine years [M]. He was conveyed out of the Prussian domi-

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

‘ selves, cannot be taken from us ; while, on the contrary,
‘ what others bestow is a fantastical dream, from which any
‘ accident may awaken us. The wrath of Frederick could
‘ destroy legions, and defeat armies ; but it could not take
‘ from me the sense of honour, of innocence, and their sweet
‘ concomitant, peace of mind ; and could not deprive me of
‘ fortitude and magnanimity. I defied his power, rested on
‘ the justice of my cause, found in myself expedients where-
‘ with to oppose him, was at length crowned with conquest,
‘ and came forth, to the world, the martyr of suffering virtue.’
Ibid. p. 72, 73, 74.

[L] Several applications were made by the Austrian minister to the king of Prussia, after the peace of Hubertsbourg, to obtain the baron’s liberty ; but these applications were not complied with, and seem not to have been made with much earnestness. At last, on a gala-day, the king happening to be in an extraordinary good humour, the queen of Prussia, the princess Amelia, and the prince-royal, now the reigning king, told the Austrian minister, that this was a fit opportunity to renew his application in behalf of baron Trenck. He accordingly did so, and Frederick consented to his release ; upon which the company expressed so much joy, that it gave the king offence. Life, *ut supra*, vol. II. p. 247, 248.

[M] Though baron Trenck had great vigour of constitution, great strength of body, and much intellectual ability, it is natural to suppose, that so long a confinement, attended with such uncommon sufferings and hardships, must have had a considerable effect upon him. Accordingly he says, in his account of his life, (vol. II. p. 248, 249.) ‘ For some weeks
‘ after I first obtained my freedom, I was generally absent in
‘ mind,

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

dominions in a covered waggon [N], in which he was conducted to Prague, without being suffered

‘ mind, and deep in thought. This was a habit I had acquired in prison, and the objects of sight appeared but as the visions of sleep. I often stopped in the streets, stared around me, doubted my own existence, and bit my finger, in order to convince myself that I was really awake and alive.’

When he was afterwards at Vienna, he was for some time confined by a fit of illness, and speaking of his going abroad, after his recovery, he says, ‘ Walking round the ramparts of Vienna, having recovered from my sickness, the vivifying spring, and the broad expanse of heaven, inspired a consciousness of present freedom, and of pleasure indescribable. I heard the morning song of the lark. My heart palpitated, my pulse quickened, and the blood trickled through my veins with delight: for I felt that I was a man, and I recollected, that I was not in chains. Happen, said I, what may, I fear not futurity so long as my feet, my will, and my heart, are free, and, like yonder lark, I can remove from land to land. My soul poured forth its thankfulness for this consciousness of freedom, and I determined to fly Vienna, and to seek some corner of the world, where virtue has nothing to fear from the tongues of slanderers, the commands of courts, or the arbitrary will of monarchs.’ Ibid. p. 250, 251.

[N] Though he was not permitted to speak to any person in the town of Magdeburg, after his release, he was visited in the citadel by the officers of the garrison, and received many congratulations on his obtaining his liberty. ‘ How much room for reflexion,’ says he, ‘ did this scene afford! My intrinsic worth then, and twenty-four hours before, when in prison, was the same; yet, how wonderful an alteration in the carriage and countenance of those by whom I had been so strictly guarded! I was treated with friendship,

‘ distinct-

ferred to
and from
Vienna

distincti
those fe
Oh Wo
states, v
disposes
[o] H

treatment
even kept
given out,
Prussia; an
being on g
of the elec
nearly app

a major in
succeeding
should have
who was n
tation, and
effected or
was involv
the princip
brace the l
of the Pop

at Vienna,
in the year
obtained h
family at
dren. He
of which t
his writing
nstance in

VOL. II

ferred to
and from
Vienna

distincti
those fe
Oh Wo
states, v
disposes
[o] He
treatment
even kept
given out,
Prussia; an
being on g
of the elec
nearly appr
a major in
succeeding
should have
who was no
ation, and
effected on
was involve
the principa
brace the Ro
of the Popis
at Vienna, w
in the year
obtained his
family at Aix
dren. He re
of which time
his writings;
rience in Pru
Vol. II.

rp®

ferred
and f
Vienn

distin
those
On V
states
dispo
[o]

treatme
even k
given c
Prussia
being o
of the
nearly a

a major
succeed

should
who wa
tion,
effected

was inv
the prin
place th

of the l
at Vienn
in the y

obtained
family a
dren.

of whic
his writ
nience

VOL.

ferred to speak to any person upon the road ; and from Prague he immediately proceeded to Vienna [o].

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

I HAVE

distinction, attention, and flattery. And why? Because those fetters had dropped off, which I had never justly borne. Oh World! what art thou? What, indeed, in despotic states, what is merit, what virtue, where arbitrary power disposes of the fate of men?' Life, vol. II. p. 212, 213.

[o] He was much dissatisfied, and with great reason, at the treatment which he received at the court of Vienna. He was even kept for some time in confinement in that city, it being given out, that he had threatened the life of the king of Prussia; and the court of Vienna was at that time desirous of being on good terms with the Prussian monarch, on account of the election of a king of the Romans, which was then nearly approaching. He was afterwards released, and made a major in the Austrian service. But he was prevented from succeeding to the greatest part of the ample fortune which should have descended to him from the Austrian baron Trenck, who was now dead, of whom he was the nearest surviving relation, and who had also left him his heir by will. This was effected on various pretences, in consequence of which he was involved in many tedious and expensive law-suits. But the principal reason appears to have been, his refusal to embrace the Romish religion; and on this account the influence of the Popish clergy, and particularly of some of the Jesuits at Vienna, was greatly exerted against him. As he was born in the year 1726, he was in his thirty-eighth year when he obtained his liberty. In 1765, he married a lady of good family at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by whom he had eleven children. He resided some years at Aix-la-Chapelle; during part of which time he seems chiefly to have supported himself by his writings; for he had been deprived of his paternal inheritance in Prussia, and appears not to have derived much ad-

VOL. II.

U

vantage

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

I HAVE dwelt the longer on the case of baron Trenck, because the circumstances of his life are singular and curious, and the treatment, which he received from the king of Prussia, can with no propriety be omitted in a history of that monarch's life. It should be remembered, in considering the case of this gentleman, that the sufferings which were inflicted upon him were without any trial, either civil or military; and

vantage from his Austrian inheritance. His temper was naturally generous; and, when possessed of money, he parted from it with great readiness and liberality. He published a news-paper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a periodical work, intitled, 'The Friend of Men,' together with some other performances. The freedom of his writings gave much offence to many of the Popish clergy, and also to some other persons. In the course of his travels, after his release from Magdeburg, he visited Hungary, and was extremely well received by the Hungarian nobility. With a view of increasing his income, he sent large quantities of Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the empire; and in order to establish a trade of this kind, he made a journey into England. He was accompanied by a young man, who was brother to his wife, and who seems to have acted as his agent. The baron was respectfully and hospitably entertained by many persons of rank in England; but he was unfortunate in his commercial connexions in London. He was defrauded of wine to a large amount; and this untoward circumstance, which was probably rendered more prejudicial to him than it might otherwise have been, by the warmth of his temper, and his ignorance of the English laws and customs, has led him to throw out some unjust, and ill-founded reflections, on the English laws, and English nation in general.

his

CHAP.
XXXII.
A. D.
1763.

his innocence of any criminal correspondence with the Austrians, appears now to be universally believed throughout the Prussian dominions, and even at the Prussian court [P]. The case, indeed, of baron TRENCK may be considered as affording a striking proof, that despotic power ought never to be intrusted to any man, however splendid his abilities. Notwithstanding Frederick's uncommon sagacity and penetration, he appears in this affair to have been totally deceived; and, notwithstanding his pretences to justice and humanity, he acted, in this instance, like the most savage and unfeeling tyrant. It is not in the power of language, to censure his conduct in this transaction with too much severity, or to express too much indignation, at this exhibition of cool, premeditated, unrelenting barbarity.

[P] Since the accession of the present king, Frederick William, baron Trenck has been introduced at the Prussian court, and extremely well received. The king himself had an interview, and a long conversation with him; and he appeared to be highly respected by the Prussian court, and in general, for the signal fortitude with which he had endured his long, unmerited, and extraordinary sufferings. The Prussian monarch afterwards conferred on him an annual pension of twelve hundred dollars, and gave one of his sons a commission in the Prussian service. The baron has also another son in the Austrian service.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Frederick's letter to Stanislaus Poniatowski, on his elevation to the throne of Poland.—He visits the duchy of Silesia, and makes sundry new regulations in different parts of his dominions.—Establishes several beneficial institutions.—Receives a visit from the emperor at Neiss, in Silesia.—Erects a new palace near Potsdam, and a great number of new buildings in that city, and at Berlin.—His prejudice against German artists.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1764.

AS Augustus, king of Poland, elector of Saxony, died soon after his restoration to his electoral dominions, count Stanislaus Poniatowski was elected king of Poland [Q] in his room, in the year 1764. The king of Prussia favoured the election of this prince; and, after that event had taken place, he wrote a letter to the new king, which contained the following passages:

‘YOUR majesty must reflect, that as you enjoy a crown by election, and not by descent, the

[Q] Frederick says, that a secret agreement had been made, that ‘the election should fall upon a Piaste, and this Piaste was Stanislaus Poniatowski, Stolic of Lithuania, who had been long known to the Empress of Russia, and whose person was agreeable to her.’ *Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 20, 21.*

‘ world

' world will be more observant of your majesty's
 ' actions, than of those of any other potentate in
 ' Europe; and it is but reasonable. The latter
 ' being the mere effect of consanguinity, no more
 ' is looked for (though much more is to be
 ' wished) from him, than what men are endowed
 ' with in common. But from a man exalted,
 ' by the voice of his equals, from a subject to a
 ' king, from a man voluntarily elected to reign
 ' over those by whom he was chosen, every thing
 ' is expected that can possibly deserve and adorn
 ' a crown. Gratitude to his people is the first
 ' great duty of such a monarch; for to them
 ' alone (under Providence) he is indebted that
 ' he is one. A king, who is so by birth, if he
 ' acts in a manner derogatory to his station, is a
 ' satire only on himself; but an elected one, who
 ' behaves inconsistently with his dignity, reflects
 ' dishonour also on his subjects. Your majesty,
 ' I am sure, will pardon this warmth. It is the
 ' effusion of the sincerest regard. The amiable
 ' part of the picture is not so much a lesson of
 ' what you ought to be, as a prophecy of what
 ' your majesty will be ¹⁶⁵.

CHAP.
 XXXIII.
 A. D.
 1764.

In the month of August, this year, Frederick
 made a journey into Silesia, accompanied by his
 brother prince Henry. The design of this excursion
 appears to have been, to make such obser-

¹⁶⁵ Annual Register, vol. VII. p. 14.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1764.

vations relative to the state of the country, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, as would the better enable him to make proper regulations for the government of the province. In the course of the year, he also made some new regulations in his dominions, with respect to schools, and the police ¹⁶⁶.

In 1765, the king established an office of insurance at Berlin; an institution which, he justly supposed, might be very beneficial to his subjects. The letters patent for establishing this office were to be in force for thirty years; during which time no other insurance office was to be set on foot in any of the Prussian dominions ¹⁶⁷. About this time Frederick also established 'the Military Academy' at Berlin [R]. He like-
wife

¹⁶⁶ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 77.

¹⁶⁷ Annual Register, vol. VIII. p. 68.

[R] Of this institution the following account has been given: 'The MILITARY ACADEMY is agreeably situated on the banks of the Sprey, opposite to the royal palace. In this school, which is under the wisest and best regulations, fifteen young gentlemen, selected from the corps of noble cadets, are maintained and educated at the king's expence. Their dress, which is a plain uniform, consists of a blue coat, and yellow waistcoat and breeches, with white buttons. To every three students an old, sensible, and experienced officer is appointed as governor, to be constantly near his pupils, and preside over their education. The three pupils sleep together in the same chamber, and have a lacquey, in the livery of the house, for their attendant. The manner in which

wife founded another institution called 'the
 ' School of Noble Cadets [s], and an ' Orphan-
 ' house,'

CHAP.
 XXXIII.
 A. D.
 1765.

' which these young gentlemen are educated, is admirably
 ' calculated to render them useful members of society, and to
 ' inspire them with notions suited to their birth: for they are
 ' usually of the best families. They are instructed in all the
 ' living languages, and in the different sciences, by excellent
 ' masters or professors, who are generally members of the
 ' academy of sciences. Each student has a monthly allowance
 ' of nine crowns for pocket-money. Their governors are to
 ' take care, that this money is not expended improperly. In
 ' winter, they go in a body twice a week to the French
 ' comedy; in fine weather, they make excursions into the
 ' country; one or two of their governors are always of these
 ' parties. These gentlemen, likewise, take it in turn to at-
 ' tend the students to the riding-house, and in their other
 ' exercises. All the governors and students dine together in
 ' a large hall; and the management of the house is entrusted
 ' to a privy-counsellor, who acts under the direction of a lieu-
 ' tenant-general. This establishment is said to cost his majesty
 ' forty-five thousand crowns annually. But, besides the young
 ' gentlemen who are educated in this manner at the king's
 ' expence, fifteen others are admitted, whose parents pay eight
 ' hundred crowns per annum for each to the director. These
 ' live, and are educated, precisely in the same way as those
 ' who are maintained at the king's expence; and no one can
 ' be admitted on this footing without his majesty's express
 ' permission.' Observations on the Military Establishment,
 &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 43, 44, 45.

[s] ' The SCHOOL OF NOBLE CADETS, though in some
 ' respects it may be useful, is by no means equal to the mili-
 ' tary academy. The school, which is an old building, built
 ' in the form of a circus, was originally a theatre for the
 ' combats of wild beasts, a barbarous diversion much in vogue

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1765.

'house [T],' at Potsdam. He also established
an East India company at Embden, with liberty
to

' in Germany. They have contrived to form apartments in
' it, for the reception of three hundred and fifty cadets, the
' greater part of whom come from the remoter provinces,
' particularly Pomerania, which swarms with poor nobility.
' These cadets are fed in a coarse manner, and clothed like
' common soldiers. Their education is altogether military.
' They are taught to read and write, and are likewise in-
' structed in mathematics and the languages. A few old in-
' valids are appointed to superintend their education; but as
' these governors are seldom men of very enlarged ideas, the
' students cannot profit much by their instructions, unless it be
' in the manual exercise, which they are taught on certain
' days of the week, when they are formed into companies for
' this purpose on the parade. The king allows six crowns,
' per month, for the maintenance of each cadet. The expence
' of their cloathing is placed to the army account. This corps
' is the nursery of subaltern officers for the Prussian armies.
Observations, &c. ut supra, p. 45, 46.

[T] ' The ORPHAN-HOUSE, at Potsdam, is an admirable
' foundation, and well managed. Six thousand children are
' nourished, clothed, and supported in this asylum at the king's
' expence. The boys are soldiers born, and are distributed
' through the several regiments, as soon as they arrive at the
' age that fits them for service. The girls (who, by the bye,
' are allowed too much liberty) are maintained in the house
' till they are placed out, or married. Several foundations of
' this kind, though on a smaller scale, are to be met with in
' other parts of the Prussian dominions. The building for
' this purpose at Potsdam, is of an immense size, and extremely
' elegant. The number of children that are admitted into it
' is unlimited; and not only orphans, but the children of sol-
' diers, or peasants, who are unable to maintain them, are all
' received

to trade to all parts of the East Indies. But this company were not successful; and several of Frederick's efforts to establish commerce in his dominions, were rendered abortive by injudicious taxes, monopolies, and various restrictions.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1765.

ON the fourteenth of July, 1765, Frederick William, prince-royal of Prussia, was married to the princess Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, of Brunswick, at Berlin. After the ceremony, which was performed with great pomp, the king and queen, the prince-royal and his consort, the duke of York, the princes and princesses of the blood, the foreign ministers, nobility, and other persons of rank, supped at four tables, each of two hun-

' received without any trouble, no distinction being made be-
' tween a bastard, and a legitimate offspring. Indeed, the
' measures taken by his Prussian majesty, to promote the pro-
' pagation of the species in his territories, are not a little
' extraordinary. Pregnancy is rendered respectable, however
' it has been acquired. A big belly secures, by law, the
' licentious daughter from the reproaches of her parents, and
' a maid-servant from the censures of her master and mistress,
' who are not suffered to turn her away, or to ill treat her,
' nor even to reprove her for what she has done. When a
' girl is with child, she applies to a magistrate, who fixes the
' place where she is to lie in; and the inhabitants of the
' town, or village, pay the expences of her delivery, if she
' or her family are not in circumstances to do it. The mo-
' ment the child is born, it is put out to nurse at the expence
' of its parents, if they are capable of maintaining it. If
' they are not, the parish advances the money, and is reim-
' bursed by the king.' Ibid. p. 46, 47.

dred

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1767.

dred covers. After supper was a ball, which was opened by the prince and new princess of Prussia, and in which the king and duke of York also danced ¹⁶⁸. The following year, in order to encourage the porcelain manufactory [u] in his kingdom, Frederick made presents of superb services of china, of the manufacture of Berlin, to several German princes. And in 1767, the princess Frederica Sophia Wilhemina of Prussia, sister to the prince-royal, was married to the prince of Orange at Berlin. This marriage, which was solemnized with great magnificence, was afterwards productive of considerable effects respecting Holland.

In 1768, Frederick made a donation of three hundred thousand crowns to the inhabitants of

¹⁶⁸ Annual Register, vol. VIII. p. 111.

[u] ' The China manufacture at Berlin has made such a
' progress towards perfection, that it almost equals that of
' Dresden, both in beauty of painting, and elegance of pat-
' tern, and is even said to excel it in the materials of which
' it is composed. As this manufacture is carried on for the
' king's account, his majesty (who understands perfectly the
' practical science of ways and means) employs, among others,
' one good expedient to promote the sale of its productions,
' Every Jew who marries, is obliged to buy directly, at the
' royal warehouse, a certain quantity of china, proportioned
' to his circumstances; and this quantity is never smaller than
' two hundred crowns, amounting sometimes to six thousand.
' The purchaser is allowed to sell what he has bought, nay,
' even to send it to foreign countries without paying duty.
Observations, &c. ut supra, p. 48, 49.

Silesia.

Silesia. This money was distributed among those persons, who, by the consequences of the late war, or by other unfortunate events, had been reduced to the necessity of contracting debts, or mortgaging their estates ¹⁶⁹. The same year he also made some new arrangements in his army; and, in particular, increased the number of men in all his companies of infantry ¹⁷⁰. In 1769, Frederick again made a journey into Silesia; and, on the twenty-fifth of August in that year, he received a visit from the emperor of Germany [x], at Neifs, in that duchy. They behaved to each other in a very cordial and friendly manner; they spent two nights and a day together; and had more than one private interview [y]. They parted with the strongest pro-

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1768.

¹⁶⁹ Annual Register, vol. XI. p. 76.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 36.

[x] JOSEPH BENEDICT AUGUSTUS, emperor of Germany, was crowned king of the Romans in 1764, and succeeded his father as emperor, in 1765.

[y] Frederick says, 'The emperor was desirous of being wholly incognito. He assumed the name of count Falkenstein; and the king thought he could not do him greater honour, than by complying in all things with his will. This young prince affected a frankness which seemed natural to him. His amiable character indicated gaiety, added to great vivacity. But, with the desire of information, he wanted the patience necessary to gain instruction. This did not prevent connections of friendship and of esteem from being formed between the two monarchs. The king declared to the emperor, that he regarded that day as the happiest of his

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1768.

professions of mutual regard, esteem, and confidence. When they dined together, some of their

his life, since it would be the epocha of union between two houses that had too long been at enmity with each other, and whose reciprocal interest it was, to afford each other aid rather than to destroy. The emperor replied, Austria had no longer any Silesia; after which he adroitly gave the king to understand, that, so long as his mother lived, he dared not flatter himself with having sufficient ascendancy over her mind to execute all that he wished; but he did not in the least dissemble, that, the present situation of affairs in Europe considered, neither he nor his mother would suffer the Russians to remain in possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. He proposed afterwards, that measures should be taken to preserve an exact neutrality in Germany, in case a war should take place between England and France. The supposition then appeared possible and probable, because that a French ship, which had been taken by the English near Newfoundland, had occasioned some warm altercation between the two courts. The king, in order to shew the desire he had to preserve a good understanding between Austria and Prussia, accepted the offers of the emperor; and these two princes entered into a mutual written engagement to maintain the proposed neutrality, which thus became an act as inviolable as a formal treaty, ratified with the signature of ministers of state. The emperor promised in the name of the empress, and of himself; and the king engaged his word of honour, that if war should break out between France and England, they would maintain with fidelity the peace happily re-established between Prussia and Austria; and that if any other troubles should arise, the causes of which it might be impossible to foresee, they would observe the most exact neutrality on the one part and the other with regard to their respective possessions. This engagement,

their general officers dined with them. Among these was general Laudohn, who had greatly distinguished himself against the king of Prussia, and who was going to place himself at the lower end of the table: but the king called out to him, 'I must beg, general Laudohn, that you will do me the favour to come and sit by me. I am much better pleased to have you on my side, than opposite to me.'

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1768.

AMONG other objects of a pacific nature, to which the king attended, after the restoration of peace, one was, the embellishment of Berlin [z] and

'the secret of which was scrupulously kept, was signed at Neiss, to the common satisfaction of the two sovereigns.' *Oeuvres Posthumes*, tome V. p. 40, 41, 42.

[z] Dr. Moore says, that 'BERLIN is certainly one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. The streets are built in a very regular manner, and of a commodious breadth. In the new town they are perfectly straight. Frederick-street is reckoned two English miles and a half, or a French league, in length. Others, which go off at right angles from that, are a mile, or a mile and a half long.'—'There are a few very magnificent buildings in this town. The rest are neat houses, built of a fine white free-stone, generally one, or at most two stories high. Here, as at Potsdam, the finishing within does not correspond with the elegance of the outside, and the soldiers are quartered on the ground-floor in rooms looking to the street. The principal edifices are the king's palace, and that of prince Henry. Both of these are very magnificent. The arsenal, which is a noble structure, is built in the form of a square.'—'The new Roman Catholic church is by far the most elegant place of worship in the city.'

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1768.

and Potsdam, and building, in both of those cities, a great number of new edifices. He erected every year, at his own expence, forty houses in Berlin, and thirty-two at Potsdam¹⁷¹ [A].

They

city. The king allows the free exercise of every religion over all his dominions. He thinks the smallest controul over men's consciences highly unjust.'

'BERLIN, though not a fortified, is certainly a very military town. When all the soldiers of the garrison are present, they amount to thirty thousand. In their general conduct they are quiet, and the police of the town is pretty well regulated. Yet there are some kinds of irregularities which prevail in the highest degree. Public courtezans are more numerous here than in any town in Europe, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. They appear openly at the windows in the day-time, beckon to passengers as they walk in the streets, and ply for employment in any way they please, without disturbance from the magistrate.'

'The most fashionable walk in Berlin, is in the middle of one of the principal streets. Before the houses on each side there is a causeway, and between these two causeways are fine gravel walks, planted with lime trees. Tents are pitched under these, and ice, lemonade, and other refreshments sold. The bands of music belonging to the regiments practise here in the summer. The company generally are in the greatest number in the evening, and often walk till it is very late.' View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 162, 163, 177, 182.

¹⁷¹ Observations, &c. on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 34.

[A] Dr. Burney says, that 'the road from Berlin to POTSDAM is through a deep running sand, like the worst parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, where there are no turnpikes, till within a few miles of the town; and then it is through a

wild

They were constructed after the king's own plans; and his principal architect attended to receive

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1768.

‘ wild forest of fir-trees, with lakes frequently in sight. Upon
‘ a nearer approach, there is a fine opening on the left hand,
‘ to a very large piece of water, and a beautiful view of the
‘ town, in which three towers, of the same size and shape,
‘ only appear; but these are elegant. The rest of the way is
‘ through a wood, cut into walks and rides, which intersect
‘ each other, and lead to different towns and villas.

‘ The examination of the gates of POTSDAM is the most
‘ minute and curious, both in going in, and out, which I
‘ have ever experienced in my travels. It could not be more
‘ rigorous at the postern of a town besieged. Name, charac-
‘ ter, whence, where, when, to whom recommended, business,
‘ stay, and several other particulars, were demanded, to which
‘ the answers were all written down. However, a stranger,
‘ upon his entrance into this city, is made some amends, by
‘ the variety and splendour of new objects, for the bad road,
‘ and difficulty of admission, which he has previously encoun-
‘ tered.

‘ The streets are the most regularly beautiful which I ever
‘ remember to have seen. The houses all seem to be built of
‘ white stone, though they are only of brick, stuccoed over,
‘ in imitation of stone. A canal, supplied by the river Havel,
‘ runs through the middle of the town, which is situated on
‘ an island, called THE WERDER OF POTSDAM, which im-
‘ plies an island in a river. This island is four German miles
‘ in circumference. The approach to POTSDAM is over a
‘ very wide piece of water, by a stone bridge.

‘ The number of houses in this city has been very much
‘ increased during the reign of his present majesty, and that
‘ of his father. At the beginning of this century, there were
‘ only two hundred houses; and at present there are at least

‘ two

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1768.

receive his orders on that head, on a certain day in every year. He also erected in the same manner,

‘ two thousand, and seventeen thousand inhabitants, exclusive of the military, which amount to about eight thousand men. Four battalions of foot guards, with the squadron of life-guards, and the regiment of the prince of Prussia, compose the constant garrison of POTSDAM. The uniform of the first battalion of foot-guards is blue, embroidered with silver, and turned up with red; the waistcoats are of pale yellow; the hats, which are extremely large, have a very broad silver lace, in imitation of *point d’Espagne*, and are cocked in the old Kevenhuller fashion, which, added to huge black whiskers, give the men a most formidable appearance. The fourth battalion, called the Lestewitz battalion, is formed of the remains of the late king’s tall grenadiers.

‘ The squares, public buildings, and houses of individuals in this city, are elegant and noble. The architecture of Palladio, in the Venetian state, is here very frequently and successfully copied. His majesty’s present passion is for architecture, in which he is said to expend 200,000*l.* sterling a year. POTSDAM is almost entirely new built, from his own designs, besides his new palace, near Sans-Souci, and innumerable houses and palaces in Berlin, constructed since the last war. Whenever a citizen is about building a house, either in his capital, or at Potsdam, his majesty furnishes the design, and is at the expence of building the front.’ Present State of Music in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 115—119.

In another place the same ingenious writer, speaking of POTSDAM, says, ‘ In visiting the principal streets and squares of this beautiful city, which is well-built, well-paved, magnificent, and new, I could not help observing, that foot passengers were here, as well as in every other city of Europe, except London, exposed to accidents from being

manner, every year, a certain number of houses, and often other buildings, at Konigsberg, Breslaw, and in other towns of his dominions¹⁷².

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

FREDERICK likewise erected a new palace at Sans-Souci, near Potsdam. Dr. Burney remarks of this palace, which is generally stiled, THE NEW

‘mixed with horses and carriages, as well as from the influence and brutality of their riders and drivers, for want of a foot-path.

‘I know not whether it has been remarked by writers of travels, that on the *Via Appia*, and other antient roads in Italy, a place was set apart, on each side, for the convenience of pedestrians; and in visiting Pompeia, where an entire antique Roman street has been dug out, I observed the same thing. A Roman citizen, whether patrician or plebeian, was a respectable character; and, perhaps, England is the only country, at present, where the common people are sufficiently respected, for their lives and limbs to be thought worth preserving.

‘The present rage for architecture, in his Prussian majesty, is carried on with such excess, that, in POTSDAM, buildings which have all the external grandeur and elegance of palaces, are made the habitations of common soldiers, who rather exist than live in them, upon five creutzers, two pence half-penny, a day. However, this passion is hereditary; for the late king of Prussia (Frederick William) made it a condition, in bestowing offices and employments about his court and person, that each incumbent should build a house, reserving to himself the pleasure of planning and constructing the front.’ Ibid. p. 197, 198.

¹⁷² Observations, on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 37.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

PALACE, that it appeared to him to be one of the most elegant and perfect, which he had seen in Europe. 'It is constructed,' says he, 'as well as most of the magnificent buildings in Potsdam, from his majesty's own designs. The front is decorated with fluted pilasters, of the Corinthian order, before each of which there is a statue. These pillars are of a pale yellow colour, and the rest of the wall in imitation of red brick. A cupola appears above the pediment, upon which are placed, on a high pedestal, the three graces; and the statues and groupes of figures, which embellish the attic story, and the balustrades, are scarcely to be numbered. The apartments are fitted up with the utmost magnificence and taste. There is a suite of rooms appropriated to almost every branch of the royal family. Those of the king, of his sister princess Amelia, and the prince of Prussia, are the most splendid. In each of these apartments, there is a room dedicated to music, furnished with books, desks, a harpsichord, and other instruments. His majesty's concert room is ornamented with glasses of an immense size, and with sculpture, partly gilt, and partly of the most beautiful green varnish, by Martin of Paris. The whole furniture, and ornaments of this room, are in a most refined and exquisite taste. There is a *piano forte*, made by Silbermann of Neuberg,

' beauti-

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

‘ beautifully varnished and embellished; and a
‘ tortoise-shell desk, for his majesty’s use, most
‘ richly and elegantly inlaid with silver. On
‘ the table lay a catalogue of concertos for the
‘ new palace, and a book of manuscript *Solfeggi*,
‘ as his majesty calls them, or preludes, com-
‘ posed of difficult divisions and passages for the
‘ exercise of the hand, as the vocal *Solfeggi* are
‘ for the throat. His majesty has books of this
‘ kind, for the use of his flute, in the music-
‘ room of every one of his palaces.’

‘ In every apartment of the new palace through
‘ which I was conducted, there appeared a studied
‘ elegance and delicacy in the furniture, which I
‘ had never met with before. The taste, indeed,
‘ is rather that of France than Italy: however,
‘ it is the best of the kind, and includes both
‘ elegance and convenience. The hall, called
‘ THE MARBLE GALLERY, is truly superb, and
‘ worthy of royalty. It is extremely spacious
‘ and lofty, and is totally encrusted with red
‘ spotted marble, called *Red Carolini*, mixed
‘ with white Italian marble. The pavement
‘ likewise is of white marble, and the cieling is
‘ ornamented with three large pictures, in gilt
‘ stucco frames, painted by Rode, the subjects
‘ of which are morning, noon, and night.
‘ Though his majesty’s principal collection of
‘ paintings, is in the picture gallery at Sans-
‘ Souci, yet there are two or three rooms in the

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

{ ' new palace, very rich in works of capital
' Italian masters. But it is out of my province
' to enumerate these : and for the costly gold
' and silver hangings, the exquisitely varnished
' wainscots, rich cielings, or Mosaic floors, they
' are not to be described.

' OPPOSITE to the great front of this palace,
' there are two elegant buildings of white stone,
' joined together, by a superb semi-circular co-
' lonnade of fluted pillars, of the Corinthian
' order. These buildings are called, the GREAT
' COMMONS ; in the lower part of which are the
' kitchens, cellars, and other offices ; and, in the
' upper stories, lodging-rooms for the king's
' attendants, and for foreigners of distinction.
' At the front of each building, there is a double
' circular escalier, which leads to a colonnade
' of insulated and fluted Corinthian pillars,
' which support a pediment, ornamented with
' statues : at each wing is placed a small tower,
' with a cupola. The idea of these buildings is
' taken from the ruins of Palmyra. Indeed, his
' Prussian majesty has made as frequent use of
' the remains of Athens, Palmyra, and Balbec,
' in the temples, ruins, and other buildings, in
' his gardens, as he has at Potsdam of the de-
' signs of Palladio, Sansovino, and Scammozzi¹⁷³.

¹⁷³ Present State of Music in Germany, &c. vol. II.
p. 144—149.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

THE ground on which this new palace was erected, was before a morass, and the whole country around was naked and barren; and with a reference to the king's known infidelity, and to the rapidity with which this palace was constructed, and the face of the country changed, it was said by a German wit, 'It must be allowed, that his majesty performs miracles, though he believes none ¹⁷⁴.'

FREDERICK purchased a great number of paintings for the decoration of his palaces; but, in making his purchases, he paid little attention to the opinions of connoisseurs. Without any regard to the names of painters, he selected such pieces only as appeared to himself to be excellent. 'It has no weight with him,' says Dr. Moore, 'that the piece is said to be by Raphael, Guido, or Correggio. If he see no beauty in it, he says so, and without ceremony prefers the work of a modern or obscure painter. This is considered by many critics in painting as blasphemy, and shocks them more than any other species of impiety. A painter, and great connoisseur, whom the king had disgusted, by rejecting some pictures of his recommending, and by purchasing others which he had condemned, said, speaking of the king, "The man imagines, because he can play on the

¹⁷⁴ Present State of Music in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 143,

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

“ German flute, and has been praised by a
“ parcel of poets and philosophers, and has
“ gained ten or a dozen battles, that therefore
“ he understands painting. But fighting battles
“ is one thing, and a true knowledge of paint-
“ ing is another, and that he will find to his
“ cost.”

BUT though the king had no partiality for
ancient painters of great name, if he could not
find excellence in their works, he had yet a great
prejudice against German artists. One day
colonel Quintus shewed him a picture of consi-
derable merit, which at first he greatly admired;
but when he was informed, that it was painted
by a German artist, who lived at Berlin, he said,
‘ I do not like it; take it away.’ The painter
was so much exasperated at the reception which
his picture had met with from the king, that
when it was returned to him, he threw it into
the fire. Soon after Frederick wanted a picture
to fill up a vacant place, and told Quintus, that
he would purchase the picture that he had before
rejected. Quintus informed him, that this was
impossible; because the painter, finding that he
could not please his majesty, had burnt his pic-
ture. ‘ Well, Quintus,’ said the king, ‘ that
‘ I call caprice.’ ‘ Yes, sire,’ replied the colonel,

“ View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland,
and Germany, vol. II. p. 123, 124. edit. 1786.

‘ though

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

though he is a German artist, he has all the caprice of an Italian ¹⁷⁶.

FREDERICK discovered a similar prejudice against mademoiselle Schmeling, now the celebrated madame Mara, when he was requested to hear her sing. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon to hear her: 'A German singer!' said he; 'I should as soon expect to receive pleasure from the neighing of my horse ¹⁷⁷.' But when he had heard her, he was so much delighted with her performance [B], that he took her into his service, and gave her a pension of four thousand crowns ¹⁷⁸.

His prejudices against German artists seem to have been extended to workmen of every kind, in whose performances any degree of ingenuity could be exhibited. He had been presented, by the count de Rothenburg, with a snuff-box, of

¹⁷⁶ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. IV. p. 10. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 148, 149.

¹⁷⁷ Burney's Present State of Music, ut supra, p. 110, 111.

[B] Dr. Burney says, 'After he had heard her sing one song, his majesty is said to have sought among his manuscript music for the most difficult airs in his collection, in order to try her powers, as much as to gratify his own ear; but she executed, at sight, whatever he commanded her to perform, in all styles, as well as if she had practised each of these compositions during her whole life.' Present State of Music, ut supra, p. 111.

¹⁷⁸ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, ut supra.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
A. D.
1769.

very curious workmanship, which he supposed to have been made at Paris, and which, under that idea, he greatly admired. But when, after having had it for a considerable time, he accidentally discovered that it had been really made at Berlin, he would keep it no longer, but gave it away to one of his attendants ¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁹ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, ut supra, p. 9.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The king of Prussia pays a visit to the emperor, at Neustadt, in Moravia.—The territories of Dantzick invaded by Prussian troops.—Partition of Poland.

AS the king of Prussia had received a visit from the emperor of Germany in Silesia, in the year 1769, in the following year he paid a visit to the emperor, in his turn, at Neustadt in Moravia. It was on the third of September, 1770, that Frederick arrived at the emperor's camp; the meeting between these two great princes was apparently attended with much mutual esteem and regard [c]; and a grand review was made of the Austrian troops for the king's entertainment. But, at the present period, Frederick's own troops were not wholly inactive: on the twenty-ninth of the same month, a body of Prussian troops made a sudden irruption, at two o'clock in the morning, into the territories of Dantzick, where they surprized several of the

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1770.

[c] 'The meeting between these great monarchs was in appearance so cordial and affectionate, as greatly to affect the beholders, particularly the troops, many of whom remembered, and had experienced, the fatal consequences of the animosity that had so long subsisted between the two families.' Annual Register, vol. XIII. p. 42, 43.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1770.

out-posts, seized the cannon, and made the men prisoners. They were afterwards reinforced to the number of five thousand, and encamped about four miles from the city, where they continued some weeks, but observed an exact discipline¹⁸⁰. The pretence for this invasion of the territories of Dantzick was, that the magistrates had forbidden the Prussian recruiting officers to levy men within their free city; and that the post-master had refused to pass some casks of silver, which came for the Prussian resident, without examination.* It was remarked, that the complaint founded on the last of these causes, was the more groundless, as the post-office belonged to the king of Poland, and the magistrates had no authority over it¹⁸¹.

THE inhabitants of Dantzick, having secured their gates, immediately applied to all the foreign ministers, to write to their respective courts, to solicit their protection, or intercession in their favour. But no effectual interposition was made in their behalf: and the result was, that, in about a month, the city, upon agreeing to pay seventy-five thousand ducats, and subscribing to certain conditions, was admitted to depute two counsellors, to make a submission to his Prussian majesty. The conditions were: first, that they should settle and pay, without delay, all the de-

¹⁸⁰ Annual Register, vol. XIII. p. 43.

¹⁸¹ Id. ibid.

mands made by the king's subjects on the city or burghers; secondly, that the Prussians should have liberty to enlist recruits; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Dantzick should not harbour any Prussian deserters; fourthly, that the money consigned to the Prussian resident should not be liable to inspection; and, fifthly, that the inhabitants should 'comport themselves in such a manner, as not to give any future cause of complaint to his Prussian majesty¹⁸².' At the same time, all the Prussian subjects, who were resident at Dantzick, were peremptorily ordered to return to their respective countries [D].

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1770.

FREDERICK was, indeed, now so much determined to increase the population of his own dominions, that he adopted very extraordinary methods for that purpose. His troops entered into Great Poland, in the year 1771; and, during the space of that year, he is said to have carried off from that province, and from the neighbour-

¹⁸² Annual Register, vol. XIII. p. 44.

[D] It has been remarked, that 'Nothing could be more arbitrary, nor attended with circumstances of greater cruelty than this act. Many of these people had married, had formed all their connections, had acquired considerable fortunes, and had spent the principal part of their lives in that great trading city. So that this order carried along with it all the pungent stings of banishment from a native country, at the most critical periods, and in the most interesting situations of life.' Annual Register, ut supra.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1770.

hood, at a moderate computation, twelve thousand families ¹⁸³. On the twenty-ninth of October, in the same year, the king of Prussia also published an edict in that province, commanding every person, under the severest penalties, to take in payment for forage, provisions, corn, and horses, the money offered by his troops and commissaries. This money was either silver, bearing the impresson of Poland, and exactly worth one-third of its nominal value, or ducats struck in imitation of Dutch ducats, seventeen per cent. inferior to the real ducats of Holland ¹⁸⁴. With this base money [E] he bought

¹⁸³ Lind's Letters concerning the present State of Poland, second edit. 1773, p. 113.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. ut supra.

[E] It appears that Frederick at several different times coined money, the real value of which was greatly inferior to what it passed for; and though his subjects were directed to take it, his revenue officers were forbidden to take it again in taxes. When some of this base money was in circulation, the king was one day riding near Potsdam, and over-heard a dispute between a baker and a peasant, occasioned by the refusal of the latter to take some of this bad money in exchange. The king rode up to the peasant, and asked him, what was the reason that he would not take the money? The peasant looked him full in the face, and said dryly, 'Will you take it yourself?' The king made him no answer, but turned his horse's head, and rode off.

Mr. Lind says, 'The king of Prussia, during the last war, over-run all Germany and Poland with false and adulterated coin. Instead of calling it in, at the end of the war, he cried

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1771.

up corn, and forage, though not only to supply his army for two whole years, but to stock magazines in the country itself, where the inhabitants were forced to come and re-purchase corn for their daily subsistence, at an advanced price, and with good money, his commissaries refusing to take the same coin they had paid. It is said, that, at the lowest calculation, 'he gained, by this masterly and honest manœuvre, seven millions of dollars [F].'

BESIDES

'cried it down, and declared it no longer current in his own dominions. As he had bought up, during the war, many cattle and much corn in Poland, that kingdom suffered severely by this unusual proceeding. All the good silver insensibly disappeared. The proportion between the mass of silver and gold was destroyed.' Letters concerning Poland, p. 40, 41.

[F] Mr. Lind says, Frederick 'having stripped the country of money and provisions, he thought it, I suppose, an act of humanity to thin it still more of inhabitants. He hit upon a new contribution. Every town and village was obliged to furnish a certain number of marriageable girls; the parents to give, as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, a cow, two hogs, and three ducats in gold. A letter I received from Posen, in the month of March last, (1772) informed me, that a little town, called Korztrzym, with its dependencies, was forced to furnish general Belling fifty marriageable girls, with each this portion; and a correspondent I have at Stargard, a town belonging to the king of Prussia, informed me about the same time, that several waggons filled with this new kind of contribution had passed through that town.

'His

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1771.

BESIDES these unjustifiable actions, of which the king of Prussia was guilty at the present period, he had also a great share, and is said to have been the prime mover [G], in the Partition of

His exactions from the abbeys, convents, cathedrals, and nobles, were so heavy, and exceeded at last their abilities so much, that the priests abandoned the churches, and the nobles their lands. Those whom age or infirmities prevented from flying, were bound hand and foot, and carried off as criminals.—These exactions continued with unabated rigour, from the year 1770 to the time the treaty of partition was declared, and possession taken of the provinces usurped. The loss of inhabitants is not easily to be calculated: that of money has been, I believe, moderately computed at three millions of ducats. Letters concerning Poland, ut supra, p. 114, 115, 116.

[G] Mr. Coxe, who appears to have been very diligent in his inquiries respecting the steps that were taken, preparatory to the Partition of Poland, says, 'The PARTITION OF POLAND was first projected by the king of Prussia. Polish, or Western Prussia, had long been an object of his ambition. Exclusively of its fertility, commerce, and population, its local situation rendered it highly valuable to that monarch. It lay between his German dominions and Eastern Prussia, and while possessed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication between them. During the course of the last general war, he experienced the most fatal effects from this disjointed state of his territories. By the acquisition of Western Prussia, his dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops, in time of war, be able to march from Berlin to Königsberg without interruption. The period was now arrived, when the situation of Poland seemed to promise the attainment of this favourite object. He pursued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On

the

of Poland. The divided and unhappy state of that country, rendered it the more easy for the usurping

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

the commencement of the troubles, he shewed no eagerness to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he had concurred with the empress of Russia in raising Stanislaus Augustus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking any active part in his favour against the confederates. Afterwards, in 1769, when the whole kingdom became convulsed throughout with civil commotions, and desolated likewise by the plague; he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the spreading of the infection, advanced his troops into Polish Prussia, and occupied that whole district.

Though now completely master of the country, and by no means apprehensive of any formidable resistance from the disunited and distracted Poles; yet, as he was well aware that the security of his new acquisition depended upon the acquiescence of Russia and Austria, he planned the Partition of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, either during their interview at Neiss, in Silesia, in 1769, or in that of the following year, at Neustadt; from whom the overture met with a ready concurrence. Joseph, who had before secretly encouraged the confederates, and even commenced a negociation with the Porte against Russia, now suddenly altered his measures, and increased his army towards the Polish frontiers. The plague presenting to him, as well as to the king of Prussia, a specious motive for stationing troops in the dominions of the republic, he gradually extended his lines; and, in 1772, occupied the whole territory which he has since dismembered. But, notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, his real views upon Poland were at first so effectually concealed, that the Polish rebels conceived that the Austrian army was advancing to act in their favour; not supposing it possible, that the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin could act in concert.

Nothing

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

usurping powers to succeed in this iniquitous transaction. The Polish nation was involved in a civil

Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, than the accession of the empress of Russia. That great princess was too discerning a politician not to regard with a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. Possessing an uncontrouled ascendancy over the whole country, she could propose no material advantage from the formal acquisition of a part; and must purchase a moderate addition to her territory by a considerable surrender of authority. The king of Prussia, well acquainted with the true interests of Russia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the empress to discern those interests, forebore (it is said) opening any negotiation on the subject of the partition, until she was involved in a Turkish war. At that crisis he dispatched his brother prince Henry to Petersburg, who suggested to the empress, that the house of Austria was forming an alliance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a most formidable combination against her; that, nevertheless, the friendship of that house was to be purchased by acceding to the partition; that, upon this condition, the emperor was willing to renounce his connexion with the grand signior, and would suffer the Russians to prosecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to push her conquests against the Turks, and dreading the interposition of the emperor in that quarter; perceiving likewise, from the intimate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that it would not be in her power, at the present juncture, to prevent the intended partition, closed with the proposal; and selected no inconsiderable portion of the Polish territories for herself. The treaty was signed at Petersburg, in the beginning of February, 1772, by the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian plenipotentiaries.

As

a civil war, which had taken its rise from the bigotry of the Romish clergy [H]; and more than

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

As the troops of the three courts were already in possession of the greatest part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on all sides, were soon routed and dispersed; and Europe waited in anxious expectation what would be the issue of this unexpected union. Yet, such was the profound secrecy with which the partitioning powers proceeded, that, for some time after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were entertained even at Warsaw concerning their real intentions; and the late lord Cathcart, the English minister at Petersburg, was able to obtain no authentic information of its signature, until two months after the event. The first formal notification of any pretensions to the Polish territory was in the month of September, 1772, announced to the king and senate assembled at Warsaw, by the Imperial ambassador; which was soon followed by the memorials of the Russian and Prussian courts, specifying their respective claims. Travels into Poland, Russia, &c. vol. I. p. 65—70. edit. 8vo. 1787.

[H] In 1766, two Polish gentlemen presented a petition to the king of Poland, in the name of all the Protestant nobility, and in behalf also of the members of the Greek church, wherein they demanded to be reinstated in their antient rights and privileges, and to be placed upon the same footing in every respect with the Roman Catholic subjects of Poland. The Protestants and members of the Greek church, who were conjointly called the Dissidents, said in their petition, 'The difference of sentiments upon some points of religion among Christians, ought not to enter into any consideration with regard to the employments of the state. The different sects of Christians, although they differ in opinion among themselves with respect to some points of doctrine, agree all in one point, that of being faithful to their sovereign, and

Vol. II. Y obedient

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

than two hundred thousand of the Poles had been also carried off by the pestilence. At this distressful period, the project of the partition was formed [1]; by which some of the finest provinces

obedient to his orders. All the Christian courts are convinced of this truth; and, therefore, having always this principle in view, and without having any regard to the religion they profess, Christian princes ought only to seek after those, whose merit and talents make them capable of serving their country properly.' The claims of the Dissidents were founded upon justice and reason, and were supported by the courts of Petersburgh, of London, of Berlin, and of Copenhagen. But the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland vehemently opposed the claims of the Dissidents, and a civil war took place, which was increased by the improper interference of the Russians in the affairs of the republic. It was natural that the king of Prussia, from the sentiments of religious toleration that he had always avowed, should espouse the cause of the Dissidents; but, from the manner in which he did this, it was sufficiently manifest, that his chief aim, in interfering in the affairs of Poland, was to promote the views of his own ambition.

[1] Frederick says, that the plan of partition was 'expedited to Petersburgh; a carte blanche was given to the empress, who was empowered to choose any one of the provinces of Poland of which she should think it most proper to take possession. The king demanded for his share Pomerellia, the district of Great Poland which lies on this side the Netze, the bishopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Culm, leaving to the Austrians the power of acceding to the treaty, if they should think proper.' Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 66. In Frederick's account of the proceedings relative to the partition of Poland, he has nothing solid to allege in justification of it; but he pretends,

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

vinces of Poland were dismembered from the republic, and divided among the usurping powers [K]. They found it difficult at first to settle their respective claims; but it was at length agreed, that Polish Prussia, and some districts bordering upon Brandenburg, should be allotted to the king of Prussia; almost all the south-eastern parts of the kingdom, bordering upon Hungary, together with the rich salt-works of the crown, were appropriated to the empress-queen; and a large district of country about Mohilow, upon the banks of the Dnieper, was taken possession of by the empress of Russia [L].

THE

that it was a measure calculated to prevent a war. However, before the partition took place, he says, that 'the despotism, with which the court of Petersburg acted in the republic of Poland, was revolting to the Sarmatians, and induced a part of Europe to oppose Russia.' Ibid. p. 26, 27.

[K] The constitution of the Polish government was in many respects so bad, that if a change had been made in it even by violent methods, it might not upon the whole have been prejudicial to the people. But the partitioning powers had no wish to remedy the defects of the Polish government. On the contrary, they laboured to perpetuate, in those parts of the country which they did not seize for themselves, the worst parts of the Polish constitution. 'Under pretence,' says Mr. Coxe, 'of amending the constitution, they have confirmed all its defects; and have taken effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its present deplorable state.' Travels, ut supra, p. 76.

[L] Mr. Coxe says, that 'of the dismembered countries, the Russian province is the largest, the Austrian the most

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

THE courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against the partition of Poland; but as these remonstrances were not supported by affording any effectual assistance to the Poles, they were without effect. A declara-

‘populous, and the Prussian the most commercial. The population of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of souls; the first contains 1,500,000, the second 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. Western Prussia was the greatest loss to Poland, as by the dismemberment of that province, the navigation of the Vistula entirely depends upon the king of Prussia. By the loss consequently of this district, a fatal blow was given to the trade of Poland: for his Prussian majesty has laid such heavy duties upon the merchandize passing to Dantzick, as greatly to diminish the commerce of that town, and to transfer a considerable portion of it to Memel and Koningsberg.’

It is farther observed by Mr. Coxe, that ‘Although the limits of Poland were settled by the treaty of partition, yet the Austrians and Prussians continually extended their frontiers: the emperor seized upon Casimir, and even avowed an intention of taking possession of Cracow and Kaminiac; while Frederick alleged these usurpations as a justification for similar encroachments on his part; urging, that he could not, consistent with his own security, see the emperor increasing his dominions without following his example, and assuming an equivalent. Catharine was forced for a time to connive at these encroachments; but no sooner was peace established with the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff crushed, than she immediately turned her whole attention to Poland; and it is owing to her spirited remonstrances, that both Austrians and Prussians have relinquished their usurpations, and confined themselves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.’ Travels, ubi supra, p. 73, 74.

tion was published by the king and senate of Poland, dated at Warsaw, Oct. 17, 1772, and signed by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania, in which are the following passages: CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

‘ The rights of the republic to all her provinces,
‘ have every possible mark of solidity and authen-
‘ ticity. An uninterrupted possession of many
‘ ages, avowed and maintained by the most so-
‘ lemn treaties, and particularly by those of
‘ Velaw and Oliva, guarantied by the house of
‘ Austria, by the crowns of France, England,
‘ Spain, and Sweden; by the treaty of 1686,
‘ with Russia;—by the express and recent decla-
‘ rations of this last power;—by those of Prussia
‘ in 1674;—and, lastly, by treaties with the
‘ house of Austria, now in full force and vigour.
‘ On these foundations the rights of the republic
‘ are grounded. The court of Warsaw contents
‘ itself with barely pointing them out at present,
‘ reserving the right of supporting them by
‘ proofs more ample and particular in time and
‘ place.

‘ WHAT titles can the three powers oppose to
‘ these? If they are titles dug out of the obscu-
‘ rity of antient times, of those times of sudden
‘ and momentary revolutions, which erected and
‘ destroyed, ceded and restored states, in the
‘ short space of a few months or years; these
‘ titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the king-
‘ dom of Poland many provinces, which formerly
‘ belonged

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

‘ belonged to it, but which for many years have
‘ been occupied by the very powers who now
‘ form pretensions on her.

‘ BUT as it is undeniable, that not only trans-
‘ actions buried in the oblivion of distant ages,
‘ but all transactions whatever, are annihilated
‘ by subsequent stipulations; as all the later
‘ stipulations between Poland and her neighbours
‘ oppose directly the partition they would now
‘ make, it follows, that the titles, on which that
‘ partition is founded, cannot be admitted, with-
‘ out undermining the rights of every state,
‘ without shaking every throne from its founda-
‘ tion.’

‘ THE present proceedings of the three courts
‘ giving the most serious subject of complaint to
‘ the king, and the duties of his crown not per-
‘ mitting him to be silent on this occasion, he
‘ declares, in the most solemn manner, that he
‘ looks upon the actual seizure of the provinces
‘ of Poland, by the courts of Vienna, Peterf-
‘ burgh, and Berlin, as unjust, violent, and con-
‘ trary to his lawful rights: he appeals to the
‘ treaties, and powers guarantees of his kingdom
‘ and its appurtenances. And, lastly, full of
‘ confidence in the justice of the Almighty, he
‘ lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne;
‘ and puts his cause into the hands of the King
‘ of kings, the supreme Judge of nations: and,
‘ in the full assurance of his succour, he protests
‘ solemnly,

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

‘solemnly, and before the whole universe, against every step taken, or to be taken, towards the dismembering of Poland¹⁸⁵.’

NOTWITHSTANDING the appeals of the king and people of Poland, against the violence and injustice of those who had taken possession of their dominions, they were at length compelled, as they received no assistance from any foreign state, to submit to the dismemberment of the territories of the republic, by the superior power of the three usurping potentates; and a pretended diet was even held at Warsaw, by which the treaty of partition was ratified. But before that event could take place, the king of Prussia published what he called ‘letters patent,’ in which he stated his claims, and appointed a day for all the inhabitants of those districts, which he had seized, to do homage, and take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to him, in the presence of commissaries appointed by him for that purpose. ‘We persuade ourselves,’ said he, ‘that all the inhabitants of the said districts will conform themselves to these our orders; but if, contrary to our expectations, any person should presume to disobey the same, by neglecting to take the oath of allegiance, refusing to submit himself to our dominion, and to acknowledge

¹⁸⁵ Lind’s Letters concerning Poland, p. 336, 337, 338,
339. Annual Register, for the year 1772, p. 254, 255.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

us for his master [M], or by resisting our troops, and others commissioned to carry these our orders into execution, or, in short, should in any wise render himself guilty, or even suspected of infidelity and disobedience, all such may be assured, that we shall proceed against them, without exception of persons, with all the rigour usual in such cases ¹⁸⁶.

Of the principles and conduct of the three usurping powers [N], a more accurate idea may

[N] A very short time was allowed for the inhabitants of these districts to do homage to the king of Prussia, and to take the oaths of allegiance to him: for the letters patent were dated at Berlin on the thirteenth of September, 1772, and the day fixed for doing homage, and taking the oaths, was the twenty-seventh of the same month. It has been justly remarked, that 'no security, either of person or property, was granted by these letters patent, to those who from principles of honour, or conscience, or a dislike to foreign laws and a military government, would sooner abandon their country, than be guilty of a violation of the one, or submit to a compliance with the other. As little regard was shewn to the rights of those, who were absent in other countries, and who, from the shortness of time, could not possibly comply with the terms prescribed. The same disregard to the established rights of mankind was shewn in the Austrian specifications.' Annual Register, vol. XV. p. 34.

¹⁸⁶ Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 359, 360.

[N] Mr. Coxe observes, that 'it is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers, Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to the republic; Russia once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarcely

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

be formed, by attending to the declarations made by each of them, before the partition of Poland had taken place. In the year 1764, the empress of Russia transmitted to the court of Warsaw an act, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the seal of the empire, wherein she declared, ' That she did by no means arrogate either to herself, her heirs, and successors, or to her empire, any right or claim to the districts or territories, which were actually in possession, or subject to the authority of the kingdom of Poland, or great duchy of Lithuania; but that, on the contrary, her said majesty would guaranty to the said kingdom of Poland, and duchy of Lithuania, all the immunities, lands, territories, and districts, which the said kingdom and duchy ought by right to possess, or did then actually possess; and would, at all times, and for ever, maintain them in the full and free enjoyment thereof, against the attempts of all who should at any time, or on any pretext, endeavour to dispossess them of the same.' In the same year the king of Prussia signed, with his own hand, an act, wherein he declared, that ' he had no claims, and formed no pretensions on Poland, or any part thereof;

' scarcely a century ago, was indebted to a sovereign of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence.' Travels, ut supra, p. 63, 64.

' and

CHAP.

XXXIV.

A. D.

1772.

‘ and that he renounced all claims on that king-
dom, either as king of Prussia, elector of Bran-
denburgh, or duke of Pomerania.’ In the
same instrument he guarantied, in the most so-
lemn manner, the territories and rights of Po-
land against every power whatsoever. The em-
press-queen also, in the month of January, 1771,
wrote a letter with her own hand to the king of
Poland, in which, after the strongest assurances
of unalterable friendship, for him and the re-
public, and desiring that the motions of her
troops might give no alarm to either, she con-
cluded by assuring him, that ‘ she never had
‘ entertained a thought of seizing any part of
‘ his dominions, nor would ever suffer any other
‘ power to do so ¹¹⁷.’

A MORE flagrant act of injustice, oppression,
and tyranny, has seldom appeared in the history
of mankind, than the partition of Poland. It
was unvarnished by any specious pretences, or
plausible appearances. The manifestoes, issued
by the usurping powers upon the occasion, were
too futile, and too palpably ridiculous, to impose
even on the grossest understanding. As to the
king of Prussia, the partition was a measure per-
fectly suitable to the favourite object of his am-
bition, the aggrandizement of his dominions;
and, when this was the point in view, justice
and injustice were trifling considerations. Count

¹¹⁷ Annual Register, vol. XV. p. 25.

Hertzberg has asserted, that, of these claims, that of the king of Prussia was the best founded¹⁸⁸. Of three such claims, it may be difficult to determine, which was the most iniquitous. This, however, may be certainly determined, that none of the claims had the least foundation in justice, truth, or reason. They originated in unprincipled ambition, and were enforced in a manner[o], that ought never to be spoken of but in

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

¹⁸⁸ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année, &c. p. 25.

[o] A contemporary writer, speaking of the state of Poland at this period, says, 'In Poland all the barriers that have been erected in the various history of mankind, to protect individuals, or to alleviate the calamities to which they are liable, in those wars that too frequently arise, from the rage, the folly, or the ambition of their rulers, have been torn up, and totally overthrown.'—'No attention is now paid, either to the laws of nations, or to the rights of individuals. The inhabitants, without being absolved from their natural government, or having any security against her indignation, if she were enabled to shew it, are compelled, under pain of confiscation, and all the other penalties that power can inflict, to renounce their natural allegiance, break their former oaths, and take new ones at a short warning to strangers. The unhappy nobility, who are the lords of the soil, are at the same time dispersed throughout Europe, having fled for refuge to different countries, to avoid the calamities and horrors of their own; and, if they were disposed to comply with the conditions, could not possibly do it in the time prescribed.' Annual Register for the year 1772, p. 37, 38.

'The estates of the princes Czartoriski, amounting to more than 20,000l. sterling a year, have been confiscated by the
' empress

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1772.

in terms of indignation, while any sense of vice or virtue shall remain among mankind.

In the letters patent which had been published by the king of Prussia, relative to the districts that he had seized in Poland, the cities of Dantzick and Thorn had been particularly excepted from his claims. But he soon after seized the territories belonging to Dantzick, under pretence of their having been formerly part of Polish Prussia. They had been alienated and ceded to the city by the kings of Poland; but Frederick declared, that those alienations were void, because having been made at a time, when the

empress of Russia; though these two princes are uncles to the king, are possessed of the highest offices under the state, and were not acquainted time enough with the necessity of their personal attendance, to have complied, if they had been disposed to forfeit their allegiance. All the estates of count Kicki, the starost of Lemburg, have been also forfeited, for nobly refusing to betray his country, by swearing allegiance to the empress-queen.

Prince Radzivil, who enjoyed such immense possessions in Lithuania, that they exceeded those of many sovereign princes, and whose ancestors had raised and supported considerable armies at their private expence, was one of the many, who, at the beginning of these troubles, became a dupe to the designs of Russia; but having been at length too fatally convinced of his error, he retired into Germany. The Russians offered to restore him every thing, but his plate and his library, if he would return and take the oaths; but he bravely answered, 'That he was born free, his ancestors were free, and he would die so.' Ibid. p. 44. 45.

province

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1773.

province and town were under the same prince, the reasons of making them ceased, now that they were fallen under the dominion of different masters. Upon the same pretext, he also seized upon the little island of Holm, and upon two peninsulas that run into the harbour, together with the suburbs called Scheidlitz and Scharpau, the district of Nehring, and the canal called the Fahrwasser. He had before seized, as parts of Polish Prussia, an angle of the port called Pwziger-Winkel; the suburbs of Dantzick, called Scotland, Hoppenbruch, and Holland; a little town called Stolzemberg, a village called Langfauhr, together with the abbey of Oliva, and all its dependencies¹⁸⁹. By these seizures he effectually commanded the city, being master of all the heights around it, and of its gates, works, and harbour [P]. Being also established in possession

¹⁸⁹ Annual Register, vol. XV. p. 38. Letters concerning Poland, p. 268, 269.

[P] Frederick also contrived to gain possession of the post-office at Dantzick. The king of Poland had a revenue still left, arising from the post-office at Dantzick: this miserable fragment, and support of royalty, could not escape the watchful attention of the king of Prussia. He also erected a new post-office at Stolzemberg; and the merchants of this great commercial city, afforded the new and ridiculous appearance, of being obliged to travel out of town to receive or forward their letters. By this means he not only seized the revenues of the old post-office, but, what was of infinitely greater importance, became master of the whole public

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1774.

session of the sea-coast, he immediately seized on the port-duties belonging to Dantzick, and erected a custom-house on the harbour, where he laid insupportable duties, at his pleasure, upon all goods, whether exports or imports. The masters and owners of vessels having refused to pay this arbitrary tribute, thirty-five of their ships were stopped at once. The foreign ministers and consuls applied for redress upon this occasion, but in vain; so that all commerce and business were entirely at a stand, till the mer-

‘ public and private correspondence of Dantzick.’— ‘ To
‘ complete the system of oppression, custom-houses were erected
‘ at their very gates, so that no person could go in or out of
‘ town, without being searched in the strictest manner.’—
‘ Such was the fate of the great mart of the North, the Pro-
‘ testant and once noble and free city of Dantzick; and such
‘ the treatment which it met with from a Protestant prince
‘ and neighbour, who, instead of oppressing it himself, was
‘ bound by the strongest ties to protect it from the oppression
‘ of others. There is not, perhaps, in history, a more striking
‘ instance of the futility, if not of the absurdity of treaties,
‘ so far as they are considered as guarantees, or acts of secu-
‘ rity, than the fate of Dantzick. Few cities ever existed,
‘ and it is probable that none do at present, that have
‘ been comprehended in so many general and particular
‘ treaties, whose rights and liberties have been so frequently
‘ secured, and guaranteed by so many great powers, and by
‘ such a long and regular succession of public acts, as that of
‘ Dantzick has been. Nor have the commercial powers of
‘ Europe so often armed in the defence or support of any
‘ other.’ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 40, 41.

chants

chants were at length obliged to comply with the demands that were made upon them, which, however unjust, they had no power to oppose¹⁰⁰. The English merchants had always enjoyed great privileges at Dantzick; and these privileges had been repeatedly confirmed to them by treaty: but their privileges were no more regarded than those of other nations, and they experienced on this occasion great violence and injustice from the king of Prussia. His conduct with regard to Dantzick continued to be, after this period [Q], in

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1774.

¹⁰⁰ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 39.

[Q] In a letter written by Mr. Wraxall from Dantzick, and dated Aug. 31, 1774, are the following passages: ' I crossed the Vistula at Dirschaw, a little town most beautifully situated on its banks, and commanding a view of all this fertile country. About an English mile and a half before I got to the town of Dantzick, I came to the last Prussian guard, and entered the territory of the republic, which is at present diminished on every side, and invested by hussars and grenadiers of an absolute prince. Freedom, it is true, yet reigns within these limits, though narrow, and waves her sacred banner on the ramparts; but how long this may continue, is certainly matter of uncertainty and doubt. If the melancholy fate of Elbing or Marienbourg can form a presage; if the unfeeling rapacity shewn in the division of Poland, its feudal parent, and once its protector; if the general train of policy, I should rather say of unrestrained avidity, exercised by the court of Berlin in Polish Prussia, enables one to determine, its final extinction is not far off. To what happy or valuable purposes, indeed, can the possession of personal independence serve, when the vital spirit which

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1774.

in a very high degree unjust and tyrannical; but he afterwards made some relaxation of his claims respecting that city.

which once supplied it is fled? Their commerce, their revenues, their riches, are already either seized on, or burthened with imposts and duties which must eventually destroy them. The city itself, which no king of Poland ever dared to enslave; which has for centuries known the sweets of an equal government and public liberty; now awaits, in trembling expectation, the hour of its destruction, and implores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to save her from a new enemy, a sovereign whose claims are equally unexpected as unbounded, and who, though apparently restrained from open violence by political motives, watches only the favourable moment when treachery, or intrigue, may put him into possession. As a member of the human race, and more peculiarly as enjoying in my own person the blessings of liberty, I feel for an unhappy city, which has once been great and powerful, but whose glories will probably soon be extinguished. Most or all the suburbs, which are very populous and extensive, are already occupied by Prussian soldiery, who on one side are close to the very fortifications, a palisado only separating them from the Dantzick guards.

Mr. Wraxall afterwards, taking notice of his having made inquiries concerning the antiquities of Dantzick, says, 'I am indebted principally for my information to two gentlemen, to whom I have been introduced since my arrival, M. le baron Zorn and Dr. Wolf, whose names I ought not to mention without adding the obligations their politeness and readiness to communicate knowledge, has laid me under. The last of them is animated by a spirit of independence worthy HAMPDEN or SYDNEY. He resided some years since at Warsaw; but quitted it, on account of the troubles

and

THE Protestant city of Thorn was also treated by Frederick, in a manner extremely similar to that

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1774.

and anarchy which foreign ambition had introduced into that capital. He retired to Dirschaw, about twenty miles from hence, built himself an observatory for his astronomical studies, and remained there till the king of Prussia seized on the town and surrounding territory. Unable to bear a yoke so galling, he left Dirschaw, and removed to this city; and he now declares, that, when it is no longer free, he will embark for England, where he has already been, and where every fugitive may find an asylum. Happy, glorious country, which can thus extend its parental protection to persecuted merit of every kind, and where freedom, almost unknown from the pole to the equator, holds her peaceful and gentle reign!

'I drove out last Sunday to see the abbey of Oliva, so celebrated for the peace concluded in it.'—'The abbot's palace, and gardens adjoining, are very elegant: but his revenues, which amounted only two years ago to 10,000 ducats (or near 5000*l.*) per annum, and the lands of the convent, which he enjoyed in full sovereignty, are now all seized by the king of Prussia, who allows him only 1200 ducats (about 550*l.*) as a pension during life, and about one fourth of that sum to keep the gardens in order. He is by birth a nobleman, amiable and benevolent in his character, past the middle age of life, and universally respected. Humanity feels for such a man, and execrates the rapacity which has thus reduced him!—But this is nothing—this is even generosity and mercy, compared with other stories, incontestably authentic, which I have heard here, respecting the Polish nobles, whose estates have been confiscated, and their families reduced from a revenue of 100,000 ducats to absolute indigence, by that monarch.' Tour through some of the

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1774.

that of Dantzick; and it was observable, that though one of his pretences, for interfering in the affairs of Poland, was, to support the cause of the Dissidents, yet, when the partition had taken place, those privileges which had been claimed by the Dissidents were not conferred upon them. A variety of new and arbitrary regulations were imposed on the inhabitants of the usurped provinces; and the Jews, of whom there were great numbers in Poland, were treated with

Northern Parts of Europe, p. 334, 345, 350, 352, 360, 361. edit. 1776.

In another letter the same ingenious writer says, ‘ On the thirteenth of September, 1772, his Prussian majesty’s general took possession of ELBING in the name of his master, and drove out the Polish garrison of two hundred men, who attempted to make some defence. The black eagle has now supplanted the cross, their antient arms, and appears over every gate of the city. They already feel the rigour and rapacity of this new government, which threatens to swallow up all Polish Prussia, and to extinguish freedom and commerce in one general ruin.’ Ibid. p. 327.

Of MARIENBOURG Mr. Wraxall also speaks in the following terms, in a letter written from thence, and dated Aug. 24, 1774. ‘ The city of Marienbourg was formerly the head of a league, which comprehended twenty-seven small towns, all situate in Polish Prussia, and which held dietines for the regulation of their police, municipal privileges, &c. This little confederacy has been long extinct, and the town itself shared the same fate as Elbing on the same day, the Prussian soldiers having marched in without resistance. There are at this time 1600 of them here, which equal the number of inhabitants in the place.’ Ibid. p. 339, 340.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1774.

so much rigour, that many of them quitted the districts that had been seized by the Prussians and the Austrians, and rather chose to retire into those provinces that had been taken possession of by the Russians¹⁹¹. To the Jesuits, in other parts of his dominions, the king of Prussia at the present period was more favourable. Though the pope had abolished the order, an asylum was afforded to them in the Prussian dominions; and Frederick remarked, in a letter to his agent at Rome, that by the treaty of Breslaw, he had guarantied the religion in the state in which it then was; and that he had never met with better priests than the Jesuits. He also directed him to inform the pope, that as he was of the class of heretics, his holiness could not grant him a dispensation for breaking his word, nor from deviating from the duty of an honest man, or a king.

ABOUT the close of the year 1775, Frederick was much afflicted with the gout; a circumstance which produced a considerable effect at the court of Vienna, of the particulars of which he has himself given the following account: 'Towards the end of the year 1775, the king of Prussia had several violent fits of the gout. Van Swieten, minister of the Imperial court at Berlin, supposed this gout to be a confirmed

¹⁹¹ Annual Register, vol. XVII. p. 21.

CHAP.

XXXIV.

A. D.

1775.

' dropfy; and, flattered by the opportunity of
 ' announcing to his court the death of an enemy
 ' whom ſhe had long found formidable, he wrote
 ' boldly to the emperor, that the king approached
 ' his end, and that he could not outlive the year.
 ' Behold immediately all the Auſtrian troops on
 ' the march; Bohemia was their appointed rendezvous; and the emperor was impatiently
 ' waiting at Vienna for the confirmation of this
 ' intelligence, that he might inſtantly penetrate
 ' into Saxony, and thence march to the frontiers
 ' of Brandenburgh, there to propoſe to the ſucceſſor to the throne the alternative, either of
 ' immediately ſurrendering all Sileſia to the
 ' houſe of Auſtria, or of being cruſhed before
 ' he ſhould be able to put himſelf in a ſtate of
 ' defence. All theſe things, which were openly
 ' performed, and every where rumoured, could
 ' have no tendency, as may reaſonably be imagined, to cement the friendſhip of the two
 ' courts. This ſcene appeared the more ſingular, becauſe the king of Pruſſia, having been
 ' attacked only by the gout, was recovered before the Auſtrian army could be aſſembled;
 ' and the emperor then ordered all his troops
 ' into their uſual quarters ¹⁹².

¹⁹² Oeuvres Poſthumes, tome V. p. 205, 206.

C H A P. XXXV.

Frederick's attachment to music.—Account of his performance on the German flute, at his private concerts at Sans-Souci.—Particulars relative to the public operas at Berlin.—The king's mode of living at this period.

NOTWITHSTANDING the variety of business in which the king of Prussia was engaged, his attention to his army, to his finances, to the general administration of his government, and to foreign affairs, it was still his constant practice to devote some part of his time to literature, and to music. In the latter, he was both a composer and a performer; and of his performance on the German flute, at one of his private concerts, at Sans-Souci, we have an account written by Dr. Burney, who visited the Prussian dominions about that period of the king's life, at which I am now arrived. 'I was carried,' says that ingenious writer, 'to one of the interior apartments of the palace, in which the gentlemen of the king's band were waiting for his commands. This apartment was contiguous to the concert room, where I could distinctly hear his majesty practising *Solfeggi* on the flute, and exercising himself in difficult passages, previously to his calling

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

in the band. Here I met with M. BENDA [R], who was so obliging as to introduce me to M. QUANTZ.—We soon began a musical conversation: he told me, that his majesty and scholar played no other concertos than those which he had expressly composed for his use, which amounted to three hundred, and these he performed in rotation. This exclusive attachment to the productions of his old master, may appear somewhat contracted: however, it implies a constancy of disposition, but rarely to be found among princes. The compositions of the two Grauns and of Quantz have been in favour with his Prussian majesty more than forty years: and, if it be true, as many assert, that music has declined and degenerated since that time, in which the Scarlattis, Vincis, Leos, Pergoleſis, and Porporas flourished, as well as the greatest fingers that modern times have known, it is an indication of a sound judgment, and of great discernment, in his majesty, to adhere thus firmly to the productions of a period, which may be called the

[R] M. BENDA has been before mentioned, in the first volume of this work. He entered into Frederick's service several years before his accession to the throne, in the year 1732. Dr. Burney says, 'He can boast of having had the honour of accompanying his majesty, during the forty years he has been in his service, in near 50,000 different concerts.' Present State of Music in Germany, ut supra, p. 147.

Augustan

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

Augustan age of music. To stem the torrent of caprice and fashion with such unshaken constancy, is possessing a kind of *flet sol*, by which Apollo and his sons are prevented from running riot, or changing from good to bad, and from bad to worse.

THESE reflections, which occurred to me while I was conversing with M. Quantz, were interrupted by the arrival of a messenger from the king, commanding the gentlemen of his band to attend him in the next room. The concert began by a German flute concerto, in which his majesty executed the solo parts with great precision: his *embouchure* was clear and even, his finger brilliant, and his taste pure and simple. I was much pleased, and even surprized, with the neatness of his execution in the *allegros*, as well as by his expression and feeling in the *adagio*: in short, his performance surpassed, in many particulars, any thing I had ever heard among *Dilettanti*, or even professors. His majesty played three long and difficult concertos successively, and all with equal perfection.

M. QUANTZ bore no other part in the performance of the concertos of to-night, than to give the time with the motion of his hand, at the beginning of each movement, except now and then to cry out *bravo!* to his royal scholar, at the end of the solo parts and closes; which

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

seems to be a privilege allowed to no other musician of the band. The cadences which his majesty made were good, but very long and studied. It is easy to discover, that these concertos were composed at a time, when he did not so frequently require an opportunity of breathing as at present; for in some of the divisions, which were very long and difficult, as well as in the closes, he was obliged to take his breath, contrary to rule, before the passages were finished¹⁹³.— Besides the three hundred concertos which his majesty plays, in turn, he has nearly as many solos, which he performs in the like rotation. Upwards of a hundred of these have been composed by himself, the rest by M. Quantz¹⁹⁴.

DR. BURNEY also gives an account of the king's public operas at Berlin. His Prussian majesty's favourite operas, says he, are those of his late *maestro di capella*, CHARLES HENRY GRAUN, to which he is so much attached, as to hear unwillingly those of any other performer; and the overtures and concertos for violins of his brother, the concert master, M. JOH. GOTTLIB GRAUN, but lately deceased, are still in high reputation at Berlin, though not

¹⁹³ Present State of Music in Germany, vol. II. p. 150—155: second edit.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 161.

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

‘ of the first class for taste or invention¹⁹¹.’
After giving an account of the chief singers of
the serious opera at Berlin, at this period, Dr.
Burney says, ‘ The king being at the whole
‘ expence of this opera, the entrance is *gratis*,
‘ so that any one, who is decently dressed, may
‘ have admission into the pit. The first row of
‘ boxes is set apart for the royal family and no-
‘ bility; the boxes that are even with the pit,
‘ and those of the second and third row, are ap-
‘ propriated to the use of the ministers of state,
‘ foreign ministers, and persons of rank, who
‘ have offices about the court; and a stranger of
‘ distinction, by application to the baron Poll-
‘ nitz, chamberlain, and director of public spec-
‘ tacles, is sure of being accommodated with a
‘ place in the theatre, according to his rank.

‘ THE performance of the opera begins at six
‘ o’clock. The king, with the princes, and his
‘ attendants, are placed in the pit, close to the
‘ orchestra. The queen, the princesses, and
‘ other ladies of distinction, sit in the front
‘ boxes. Her majesty is saluted at her entrance
‘ into the theatre, and at her departure thence,
‘ by two bands of trumpets and kettle drums,
‘ placed on each side the house, in the upper
‘ row of boxes. The king always stands behind
‘ the *maestro di capella*, in sight of the score,

¹⁹¹ Present State of Music in Germany, vol. II. p. 98.

‘ which

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

‘ which he frequently looks at, and indeed performs the part of director-general here, as much as of generalissimo in the field ¹²⁶.’

SPEAKING of the general and national style of musical composition and performance in the Prussian dominions, Dr. Burney says, ‘ It seems at present to be formed so much upon one model, that it precludes all invention and genius.’ He adds, ‘ Though the world is ever rolling on, most of the Berlin musicians, defeating its motion, have long contrived to stand still. Upon the whole, my expectations from Berlin were not quite answered; as I did not find that the style of composition, or manner of execution, to which his Prussian majesty has attached himself, fulfilled my ideas of perfection. Here, as elsewhere, I speak according to my own feelings. However, it would be presumption in me to oppose my single judgment to that of so enlightened a monarch, if, luckily, mine were not the opinion of the greatest part of Europe: for, should it be allowed, that his Prussian majesty has fixed upon the Augustan age of music, it does not appear that he has placed his favour upon the best composers of that age. VINCI, PERGOLESE, LEO, FEO, HANDEL, and many others, who flourished in the best times of GRAUN and

¹²⁶ Present State of Music in Germany, vol. II. p. 99, 100, 101. ut supra.

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

QUANTZ, I think superior to them in taste and genius.

Of his majesty's two favourites, the one is languid, and the other frequently common and insipid; and yet, their names are *religion* at Berlin, and more sworn by than those of Luther and Calvin. There are, however, schisms in this city, as elsewhere; but heretics are obliged to keep their opinions to themselves, while those of the establishment may speak out: for though a universal toleration prevails here, as to different sects of Christians, yet, in music, whoever dares to profess any other tenets than those of GRAUN and QUANTZ, is sure to be persecuted. Hence, the music of this country is more truly German, than that of any other part of the empire: for though there are constantly Italian operas here, in carnival time, his Prussian majesty will suffer none to be performed but those of Graun, Agricola, or Haffe, and of this last, and best, but very few. And, in the opera-house, as in the field, his majesty is such a rigid disciplinarian, that if a mistake is made in a single movement or evolution, he immediately marks, and rebukes the offender; and if any of his Italian troops dare to deviate from strict discipline, by adding, altering, or diminishing a single passage in the parts they have to perform, an order is sent, *de par le Roi*, for them to adhere strictly to the notes written

by

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

by the composer, at their peril. This, when compositions are good, and a singer is licentious, may be an excellent method; but certainly shuts out all taste and refinement. So that music is truly stationary in this country, his majesty allowing no more liberty in that, than he does in civil matters of government: not contented with being sole monarch of the lives, fortunes, and business of his subjects, he even prescribes rules to their most innocent pleasures¹⁹⁷.

At this period of Frederick's life, and probably for some years before, his mode of living seems to have been somewhat different, from what it had been previously to the commencement of his seven years war. He rose regularly at four in the summer, and five in the winter, and attended business with his ministers and secretaries, with the same exactness and uniformity as formerly; but he now allowed himself a longer time at dinner, and wholly omitted suppers. He now generally went to the parade only three times a week, when he exercised his guards; but he exercised the other regiments at different times; and, at certain stated times, had very splendid reviews, of all his troops, which were visited by military men, and persons of rank, from every part of Europe. On those

¹⁹⁷ Present State of Music in Germany, vol. II. p. 231—235

days when he was not employed with his troops, he was frequently to be seen riding through the streets of Potsdam, attended only by a single page, and an aid de camp [s]. In this manner he visited the buildings, which were erecting by his order, and saw that every thing was properly executed. In fine weather, it was not an unusual thing for him to make these visits on foot. He afterwards returned to Sans-Souci, where he found his generals, and such other persons as he had invited to dine with him. With these he walked in the garden till near dinner-time; but, if the weather was bad, their walk was confined to the great gallery. He dined at twelve [r]; and it was generally after three

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

[s] 'As the king has never any of the great officers of the crown about his person, their posts are merely honorary. His treasurer is an *heyduc*, who can neither read nor write, and who sits upon the box with the coachman, when his majesty travels; although his secretaries follow their master in a coach. This heyduc pays the expences of the kitchen, livery, stables, &c. and likewise executes the king's orders with regard to gratuities, and other disbursements.'—'When the king travels on horse-back, his whole suit consists of a page, an equerry, and a groom, with a led horse. This monarch has neither coach nor carriage at Sans-Souci, and never gets into a carriage, except in long journies.' *Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia*, p. 13, 29, 30.

[r] The author of the 'Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia,' written during his life-time, says, that Frederick's dinners, about this period,

con-

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

three before he quitted his company. When he rose from table, he withdrew into another apartment, where coffee was served up, and where he found such persons as he had previously ordered to attend him: for nobody came to Sans-Souci without his particular permission, not even his ministers, or any of the royal family; and

consisted ' of eight dishes only, exclusively of the soup and ' *bouilli*, and only one dish was served up at a time.'— Of ' the eight dishes,' says he, ' four are in the French, and ' two in the Italian taste: the other two are suited to the ' king's particular palate. They are all of them succulent, ' and extremely well cooked, each dish being dressed by a ' distinct cook, who has a kitchen to himself, and a scullion ' to assist him; so that the king's table, though far from being ' sumptuous, is very expensive. The desert consists of three ' glasses of dried sweetmeats, some plates of creams, *bleau-mange*, and the like; and six of different sorts of fruit, ' which are always the choicest and most delicious that can be ' procured; the king being a great epicure with regard to ' fruit: so that he has it sent him from different parts of ' Europe, although his own gardens and hot-houses produce ' him excellent fruit all the year round. His majesty eats ' heartily, and a good while: he drinks a bottle of burgundy, ' a few glasses of champaign, and now and then, though ' rarely, a little cordial after the French manner. He continues at table till half past three, and converses very good ' humouredly with his company during the desert. None ' but generals, colonels, and a few other persons, suited to ' the king's taste, are admitted to these private parties. ' Strangers never dine with the king, but when there is a ' court, which does not often happen, and indeed never at ' Sans-Souci, which is his majesty's ordinary residence.'
P. 9, 10.

the

the queen had always a separate court [u]. Even foreign ministers were obliged to apply to the king by letter, whenever they were desirous of an audience; and so was every other person who wished to speak to him. When he was disposed to see them, he answered their letters [x], and

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

[u] Dr. Moore says, 'His majesty very seldom appears at the queen's court, or at any place where women form part of the assembly.'—'I once said to a lady of this court, that it was a pity his majesty did not love women.' "Considering his time of life," said she, "we could dispense with his love; but it is hard that he cannot endure us." View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 172, 173.

Dr. Zimmerman observes, that, at one period of his life, Frederick 'laid hold of every opportunity of declaring his delight in beautiful women. The portraits of charming female dancers are still extant, with which, for this reason, he adorned his apartments.'—'He would also make people believe, that he lived in a very intimate connexion with the famous dancer Barberini. Once in a masquerade at Berlin, he walked with her, unmasked, arm in arm; and then retired with this beautiful Italian into a closet, where they only drank tea. This sweet woman was the only one with whom Frederick the Great, when king, seemed to be in love.' Select Views, vol. I. p. 54, 57, 58.

[x] 'All business with the king,' says Dr. Moore, 'is transacted by letters. Every petition, or proposal, must be made in this form, which is adhered to so invariably, as I have been assured, that if any of his generals wished to promote a cadet to the rank of an ensign, he would not venture to make his proposal in any other manner, even though he had daily opportunities of conversing with his majesty.' View of Society and Manners, ut supra, p. 237.

named

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1775.

named the day and minute when they were to attend. When no answer was sent, it was equivalent to a refusal.

AT five in the afternoon, he retired to his closet, where he read and signed the letters which had been written by his secretaries, from the directions which he had given them in the morning. In these letters, he often made alterations and corrections with his own hand. At six he went to the music-apartment, in which his concerts were performed, and to which few persons were admitted, excepting the generals who had apartments at Sans-Souci. His concerts ended at seven, after which he either read himself, or employed some of his attendants, or favourites, to read to him. During almost the whole of his life, and even to the close of it, it was his custom to read French translations of the most celebrated Greek and Roman writers, particularly the historians. When he retired to his chamber, he was frequently attended by colonel Quintus Icilius [Y], with

[Y] Dr. Burney says, ' This officer's original name is • GUISCHARD, and that of QUINTUS ICILIUS only his • *Nom de Guerre*, given to him, in pleasantry, by his majesty, • who, when he conferred upon him a command in a regiment, hastily raised and collected from the refuse of all nations, during the heat of the last war, honoured him with • the appellation of the commander of Cæsar's tenth legion, a name which has since been adopted by the whole Prussian nation.' Present State of Music in Germany, &c. ut supra, p. 143.

Colonel

with whom he conversed till he fell asleep [2].
 He had no guard in the day at Sans-Souci; but,
 at 1775.

CHAP.
 XXXV.
 A. D.

Colonel Quintus, or Guischard, was well skilled in the learned languages, and in several of the modern; but was chiefly distinguished for his profound knowledge in the tactics of the antients.

[2] It appears, that it was the king's practice to settle every night in his chamber, before he went to sleep, the bill of fare for the next day's dinner. The author of 'Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia,' who seems to have had very accurate information respecting Frederick's private life, after taking notice of his spending some time every evening in reading, says, 'After which he retires to his bed-chamber, where he finds colonel Quintus, with whom he converses in a familiar manner. One of his cooks (for he had no clerk of the kitchen at Sans-Souci) then brings him in a bill of fare for the next day's dinner, with the price of each dish marked in the margin. The king strikes out what he does not like, and orders something else in its stead, exclaiming at the same time against the roguery of his domestics, but after all leaves the prices as he finds them. At the same time, he receives the account of his stables, and of the expences of his household, kitchen, &c. He puts them all by in order, and settles them once a month, when he makes no little noise if they happen to be more than usual. But notwithstanding all this disturbance, he makes no deduction, but pays the whole of the bills. As soon as these domestic matters are settled, his majesty undresses himself, gets into bed, and continues to joke with Quintus till he drops asleep. The colonel then walks gently out of the room on tip-toe, shuts the door after him, and returns to Potsdam.' P. 12, 13.

The same writer has also related some farther particulars concerning the king and colonel Quintus. 'His Prussian
 Vol. II. A a 'majesty,'

CHAP.
XXXV.
A. D.
1776.

at six in the evening, four men were sent from
Potsdam, with a corporal, who placed a centinel

“majesty,” says he, “is much inclined to joke with the per-
“sons he esteems, but he sometimes carries his pleasantry
“rather too far. The most frequent objects of the king’s wit
“is colonel Quintus. This sometimes proves the source of
“little animosities, which soon subside again.”—The colonel
“is a man of merit, and a good officer. He has published
“several military works in French, and, among others, in
“1758, his Military Memoirs concerning the Greeks and
“Romans, in two volumes, quarto, with plans and figures.
“This valuable performance, after passing through three edi-
“tions, has been severely criticised in a late publication by
“count Loloos, a nobleman of great abilities in tactics; and
“colonel Quintus had the mortification to find himself obliged
“to defend himself, after having enjoyed a ten years triumph.
“The king’s remark to him on this subject galled him more
“than any thing else. As this prince was rising from table
“one day, Quintus requested his permission to print a new
“work; “I grant it to you with all my heart,” replied his
“majesty, “but I would advise you to ask the consent of
“count Loloos.” Two days after this, the king contrived
“at dinner to turn the conversation on the commanders of his
“light troops in the last war; and observed at the same time
“with much pleasantry, that these troops had been headed
“only by cut-purses.” “As for Quintus,” added his majesty,
“he has found it difficult to leave off those lucrative habits
“and for some years I was obliged to keep a good eye on my
“purse and my jewels when he was near me.” The colonel
“piqued at this observation, replied, “It is true, sire, that I
“have robbed in my time, but it was by your orders, and the
“greatest part of the booty fell to your share.” The king
“pretended not to hear this reply, and immediately turned the
“conversation to some other subject. Quintus, however,

withdrew

at the door of the palace. This guard returned to Potsdam at four in the morning.

AMONG those persons, with whom Frederick conversed the most familiarly about this period, was the abbé Bastiani, who had an apartment in the palace. He was an Italian by birth, and

CHAR.
XXXV.
A. D.
1777.

withdrew in a pet to Potsdam, and omitted to wait on the king in his bed-chamber, as he had been accustomed to do. The monarch, piqued in his turn at this studied neglect, sent him no invitation to dinner, and Quintus remained at Potsdam. Eight or ten days passed in this manner, and the breach was supposed to be irréparable, when the king began to relent, but at the same time was unwilling to seem to make the first overture for a reconciliation. He therefore dispatched one of his equeries to Quintus, with orders to ask the colonel how it happened, that in ten days he had not had time to give him an account of the new work he had put into his hands? Quintus, knowing he had received no such commission from his majesty, sent for answer that his majesty must certainly be mistaken. The king repeated the message, and the colonel repaired to the bed-chamber, where his majesty conversed with him about news, literature, &c. without taking any notice of what had passed; and the next day he was invited to the king's table as usual. Observations, &c. p. 26—29.

Notwithstanding the familiarity between the king and colonel Quintus, he is said not to have been very liberal to him in his life-time; but, after the colonel's death, he presented his widow with six thousand rix-dollars, and gave her an annual pension of four hundred rix-dollars. He also purchased her husband's library for twelve thousand rix-dollars, which was supposed to be much more than it was worth. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 81.

CHAP.

XXXV.

A. D.

1777.

possessed of so much wit, that the king was fond of his company. One day, after dinner, Frederick being in a gay humour, said to Bastiani

‘ When you shall obtain the tiara, which your exemplary piety must one day procure you how will you receive me, when I arrive at Rome to pay my duty to your holiness?’

‘ I will immediately give orders,’ replied the abbé with great readiness, ‘ *Qu’on fasse entrer l’aigle noir,—qu’il me couvre de ses ailes, mais—qu’il m’épargne de son bec* ¹⁹⁸.’

¹⁹⁸ Moore’s View of Society and Manners, &c. ut supra p. 239, 240.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Contest between Frederick and the court of Vienna, concerning the succession to the electorate of Bavaria.—Manifesto published by him at Berlin on that subject.—His speech to his general officers, previously to his setting out for Silesia.—Peace of Teschen.—The king writes a panegyric on Voltaire.—Case of the miller Arnold.—Frederick interferes in the affairs of Holland, in support of the stadtholder.

AT the close of the year 1777, died Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria; and this event gave rise to a new contest between the king of Prussia and the court of Vienna. The death of this prince, without issue, totally extinguished the male Guilielmine, or Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had been in possession of that duchy for near five hundred years. Maximilian Joseph was succeeded, both in the electoral dignity, and his dominions at large, by his general heir, Charles Theodore, the elector palatine of the Rhine. At the time of his accession to the Bavarian dominions, this prince was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and having no issue, the large possessions of the double electorate, with the dignity appertaining to one, were in the expectation of his apparent heir, the duke of Deuxponts, who was the nearest relation in the

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1777.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1777.

male palatine line. The electress-dowager of Saxony, as only sister, and as the nearest relation and heir of the late elector of Bavaria, also claimed a sole right in the succession to all the allodial estates in that duchy. The course of the succession to Bavaria had been settled for ages, was universally known, and had even been prepared for by the late prince; the new elector, therefore, found no difficulty in taking possession of that duchy with the Upper Palatinate, and of receiving the willing homage of his new subjects. But he soon met with a very formidable claimant to a great part of his new dominions. He had scarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, before the Austrian troops, who had been evidently stationed on the frontiers for that purpose, and had only waited for an account of the late elector's death, poured on all sides into the Lower Bavaria, and seized on every place to which they came. In the mean time, another strong body advanced on the side of Egra to the Upper Palatinate, where the regency in vain pleaded the laws of the empire, and the rights of sovereignty, against the entrance of foreign troops¹⁹⁹.

A CLAIM had been set up, in behalf of the empress-queen, to a great part of the electorate of Bavaria; which was founded upon obsolete titles, of more than three hundred years standing, and which appear to have been very ill grounded.

¹⁹⁹ Annual Register, vol. XXI. p. 4, 5.

But the Austrian claim, however defective in reason or in justice, was supported by an army of sixty thousand men. The new elector, therefore, incapable of opposing so great a force, and unwilling to engage in a war in the decline of life, entered into a treaty with the ministers of the empress-queen; and a convention was accordingly concluded and ratified, before the middle of January, 1778, between the court of Vienna and the elector, by which the latter, in order to keep part of his new possessions, gave up the better half of them, and left claims open, which might have swallowed a great part of the remainder²⁰⁰. This arrangement, however, naturally gave great umbrage to the duke of Deuxponts, who formally protested against the convention between the court of Vienna, and the new elector of Bavaria; and called upon the princes and states that compose the diet of the empire, both in their original character, and as guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to interfere in the preservation of his rights.

At this period the king of Prussia thought proper to enter into the contest; and as he had no common interest, as in the case of the partition of Poland, to tolerate acts of injustice in favour of the house of Austria, he undertook the support of the duke of Deuxponts, and the defence of the rights of the Germanic body.

²⁰⁰ Annual Register, *ut supra*.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

Several public acts and memorials were issued upon the occasion by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and sundry efforts were made to effectuate an amicable accommodation. But the court of Vienna behaved with much haughtiness, and these efforts were not successful. At length, on the seventh of July, 1778, Frederick published a manifesto at Berlin, which contained the following passages: ‘ His majesty the king of Prussia
‘ was in hopes, ever since the treaty of peace of
‘ Hubertsbourg, to live in constant harmony
‘ with the court of Vienna, and with that view
‘ his majesty has employed all possible means to
‘ cultivate the friendship and affection of their
‘ imperial and royal majesties the emperor, and
‘ the empress-queen of Hungary. It is, therefore, with the greatest grief and concern, that
‘ his majesty finds this good harmony disturbed,
‘ by the unexpected dismemberment of the electorate of Bavaria, undertaken by the court of
‘ Vienna, after the death of the late elector of
‘ that country. His majesty could not avoid
‘ immediately considering these proceedings as
‘ not only directly opposite to all justice, and
‘ the known rights of the nearest heirs to the
‘ dominions and allodials of Bavaria; but also as
‘ contrary to the safety, liberty [A], laws, and
‘ con-

[A] In the public memorials and manifestoes of the German princes, and particularly in those of the late king of Prussia,
much

CHAP.
XXXIV.
A. D.
1778.

constitution of the German empire; and, therefore, caused several well-grounded, friendly, and repeated representations to be made to their imperial majesties, in order to engage them to desist from their undertaking.' After stating how ineffectual these negotiations with the court of Vienna had proved, and pointing out the injustice of the Austrian claims, he observes, that he thought himself in duty bound, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, and as an elector and prince of the empire, to oppose the dismemberment of one of the most considerable electorates of Germany, and to assist, with all possible zeal, the parties thereby oppressed. He adds, ' His majesty declares, that his sole object in this measure is to support the laws and constitution of the German empire, which have been injured in the most arbitrary manner by the very prince, who, from his quality as chief of the empire, ought to have been their most strenuous protector; to assist those princes, his friends and allies, who are thereby injured

much was often said concerning the preservation of the liberties of the Germanic body. But it must be remembered, that, when this phrase was made use of, the liberties of the great body of the common people of Germany, were in no respect the object of consideration. The preservation of the liberties of Germany means, the preservation of the rights and privileges of the several princes and states of the empire, in opposition to the power and prerogative of the emperor.

' and

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

and oppressed; and that he has no other particular views therein, than his own security, and the maintenance of the system of the empire.²⁰¹

BEFORE the publication of this manifesto, the king of Prussia had made great military preparations; and after a review, in the same month, of that part of his army, which lay in the neighbourhood of Berlin, and which was then, as well as himself, on the point of setting out for Silesia, he made the following speech to all the general officers present, among whom were his brothers Henry and Ferdinand, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick:

Gentlemen,

Most of us have served together from our earliest days, and are grown grey in the service of our country. We, consequently, know each other perfectly well. We have borne our share in the fatigues and dangers of war; and I make no doubt but that you are as unwilling to shed blood as I am. But the dangers, which now threaten our country, not only render it a duty, but put us under an indispensable necessity, to employ the most speedy and efficacious measures, to dispel the storm which now seems ready to break over our heads. To effectuate

²⁰¹ Annual Register, ut supra, p. 308—311.

these

' these important purposes, I rely upon that zeal
 ' for my service, and that attachment to my per-
 ' son, which you have always expressed, and
 ' which I never yet failed to experience at your
 ' hands : and you may rest assured, gentlemen,
 ' that I shall ever acknowledge, with an heart-
 ' felt satisfaction, the services that I am sure
 ' you will render to your king and country.
 ' But let me intreat you never to lose sight of
 ' humanity, even when your enemies are in your
 ' power ; and to cause the most exact discipline
 ' to be observed by the troops under your com-
 ' mand. As to my own part, I wish not to
 ' travel like a king ; rich and gaudy equipages
 ' have no charms for me ; but, infirm as I now
 ' am, I cannot travel as I formerly did, when in
 ' the vigour of youth. I shall be obliged to use
 ' a post-chaise. I leave you at liberty to do the
 ' same : but, in the day of battle, you shall see
 ' me on horse-back ; and I hope that my generals
 ' will not fail, in that, to imitate their king²⁰².'

CHAP.
 XXXVI.
 A. D.
 1778.

THE Austrian army was commanded by the
 emperor in person ; and it is said, that when
 Frederick set off from Berlin, he sent the fol-
 lowing short note to one of his principal ministers

²⁰² Annual Register, vol. XXI. p. 21, 177. Latrobe's
 Characteristic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Prussia,
 p. 222, 223, 224.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

of state: ' You will find money enough in the treasury for the public supplies. I trust in God, that I shall not be long absent, as I am only gone on a small excursion, in order to teach a young gentleman in the neighbourhood his military exercise ²⁰³.' The campaign, however, was extended to a greater length than the king expected; for though the emperor had not himself had much experience in the art of war, he was assisted by general Laudohn, and other very able generals, and had a most formidable army under his command. The Prussian army was also very numerous, and both armies were furnished with a great and unusual quantity of artillery. Before the Prussian troops had quitted their own country, the king ordered a present of money to all the officers, rising in due proportions from the ensigns to the generals, as an assistance towards their camp-equipage, and other charges incident to taking the field; and the soldiers were also gratified by an augmentation of one fourth, both in their pay and provisions, from the commencement of actual service ²⁰⁴.

THE king of Prussia having passed through Silesia, then penetrated the mountains of Bohe-

²⁰³ Ibid. p. 171.
p. 21.

²⁰⁴ Annual Register, ut supra,

nia, and having seized the city, castle, and magazines of Nachod, in the confines of that kingdom, without opposition, he fixed his headquarters there in the month of July, whilst he waited for the arrival, and made roads across the mountains to facilitate the passage, of his heavy artillery and stores. In the mean time, the emperor had taken an advantageous post at Koningsgratz, where his army was very strongly encamped. Several subsequent movements were made by these great armies; but no action took place of any consequence. A negotiation was set on foot, during which sundry letters passed between the emperor and the king of Prussia. But this negotiation was broken off; and the empress-queen then sent the following letter, privately, by the baron Thugut, to the Prussian monarch:

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

‘ Sir, Brother, and Cousin,

‘ From the recall of baron Riedesel, and the
‘ entrance of your majesty’s troops into Bohemia,
‘ I behold, with extreme sensibility, a new war
‘ broken out. My age, and the desire I have to
‘ preserve peace, are known to all the world;
‘ and of which I cannot give a more satisfactory
‘ proof than by the step that I have now taken.
‘ My maternal heart is justly alarmed at the
‘ consideration, that two of my sons, and a be-
‘ loved son-in-law, are in the army. I now
‘ write

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

‘ write without having acquainted the emperor
‘ my son ; and I request that your majesty will
‘ suffer the affair to remain wholly a secret, be
‘ its success what it may. My wishes tend to re-
‘ new and to terminate the negociation thus far
‘ conducted by his majesty the emperor, and
‘ now broken off to my very great regret. This
‘ letter will be delivered into your own hands by
‘ the baron Thugut, who is furnished with in-
‘ structions and with full powers. Ardently
‘ wishing that our hopes may be accomplished,
‘ agreeably to our dignity, and to our mutual
‘ satisfaction, I entreat your majesty to reply
‘ with similar sentiments to the strong desire
‘ which I have, that our good understanding
‘ should be for ever re-established, for the benefit
‘ of the human race, and likewise of our families.
‘ I remain

‘ Your majesty’s good sister and cousin,

MARIA THERESA²⁰⁵.

To this letter the king of Prussia returned the following answer :

‘ Madam and sister, July 17, 1778.

‘ Monf. Thugut has presented to me the letter,
‘ with which he was charged by your imperial
‘ and royal majesty. No person here knows him,

²⁰⁵ Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 316, 317.

nor shall any one be informed that he has been here. It was worthy of the character of your imperial and royal majesty, to give marks of magnanimity and of moderation in a litigious affair, after having maintained the succession of your ancestors with heroic fortitude. The tender attachment, which your imperial majesty testifies for the emperor, your son, and for princes of so much merit, must procure you the applause of all feeling hearts; and this, if possible, increases the high consideration in which I hold your sacred person. Baron Thugut has minuted down some points, to serve as a basis for a suspension of arms. I have been obliged to add some articles, part of which were before agreed upon, and others which I imagine will meet with no difficulty. In the mean time, madam, your imperial majesty shall have nothing to fear for the blood-royal, or for the safety of an emperor whom I love, and whom I respect, though he holds different principles from me with regard to the affairs of Germany. Mons. Thugut is immediately to set out for Vienna; and I believe that in six or seven days he may return. I shall, in the mean while, send for such ministers as are necessary to conclude the negotiation, should your imperial and royal majesty agree to some necessary articles, which I have added, in order that the preliminaries may be signed.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1778.

‘ signed. I am, with the highest considera-
‘ tion,

‘ Madam and sister,

‘ Your imperial and royal majesty’s

‘ Good brother and cousin,

‘ FREDERICK ²⁰⁶,

OTHER letters passed between the king of Prussia and the empress; but this negociation did not immediately produce a peace, the emperor being extremely averse to it [B]. At length, however, the treaty of Teschen was concluded, on the thirteenth of May, 1779. By that treaty it was agreed, that the court of Vienna should renounce its pretensions to Bavaria, retaining only the district of Burghausen; that fix

²⁰⁶ Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 320, 321, 322.

[B] Frederick says, ‘ The emperor, being informed of the negociation of M. Thugut, was enraged at the intelligence. He wrote to his mother, that if she were determined to make peace, he would never return to Vienna, but would establish himself at Aix la Chapelle, or in any other place, be it where it might, rather than again approach her person. The empress had sent for the grand duke of Tuscany, whom she immediately dispatched to the army, that he might appease the emperor his brother, and inspire him with more pacific sentiments. The effect of this interview was a quarrel between the two brothers, who had before lived on very good terms.’ Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 249.

millions

millions of florins should be paid to the elector of Saxony as an equivalent; and that a recognition should be made of the right of the house of Brandenburg to re-unite the margraviates of Franconia to their electoral dominions, after the extinction of the reigning family²⁰⁷. By this treaty the late convention between the court of Vienna and the elector palatine was also totally annulled, and satisfaction was agreed to be made to the duke of Deuxponts.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

DURING the course of this short war, the king had at one time his head-quarters at Frankenstein, in Upper Silesia. He lodged in the house of a widow, far advanced in years, who, on his arrival, shewed him into her best apartment, in which were portraits of her six sons, who had all fallen in battle, and in the king's service. Frederick seemed to view these pictures with some emotion; and fixing his attention more particularly upon one of them, he said, 'Had this brave officer lived, he would now have been one of my generals.' He then inquired into the circumstances of the family, and hearing that the lady had still two daughters unprovided for, he made her a present of six thousand ducats²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁷ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année, &c. par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 27.

²⁰⁸ Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Prussia, p. 169, 170.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

IN the year 1778, VOLTAIRE died at Paris; and the king of Prussia thereupon wrote a panegyric on this celebrated man, which was read at an extraordinary meeting of the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, on the twenty-sixth of November in that year. In this piece, the royal author makes the following observations: ' It has ever been the custom of wise and polished nations, to respect men of an uncommon and elevated genius while alive, and to distinguish them after death by peculiar honours. The lustre of extraordinary abilities reflects glory on the countries which produce them. The first legislators, who taught mankind to live in society; the first heroes, who defended their fellow citizens; the philosophers, who, penetrating the depths of nature, laid open the sources of truth; the poets, who transmitted the splendid actions of their contemporaries to future ages: all these have ever been regarded as beings superior to the human species, and distinguished by the peculiar favour of the gods. Hence the altars erected to Socrates, the deification of Hercules, the honours conferred on Orpheus by the united voice of Greece, and the long contested dispute among the seven cities which claimed the birth of Homer. The Athenian people, whose education was peculiarly refined, retained the whole Iliad in their memories, and celebrated,

with

with transports of pleasure, the glory of their
ancient heroes, preserved in that immortal
poem. The talents of Sophocles, who carried
off the palm of tragedy, were likewise highly
respected; and he was invested with the most
honourable employments that his countrymen
had it in their power to confer. It is well
known how much Æschines, Pericles, and
Demosthenes were esteemed.—The works of
Xenophon and Thucydides were admired even
by the vulgar; and the meanest citizen seemed
to share the renown of those elevated geniuses,
who raised the name of GREECE above that of
every country in the universe.

ROME, soon after, furnished a similar spec-
tacle to the world. The philosophy and elo-
quence of Cicero raised him to the highest ho-
nours. The short life of Lucretius prevented
him from enjoying his rising fame; but Virgil
and Horace obtained the suffrage of imperial
Rome, were admitted to the familiarity of
Augustus, and shared the rewards which that
artful tyrant lavished on those who concealed
his vices, by celebrating the glory and felicity
of his reign.—Such is the respect which all
ages have paid to those happy geniuses, who
seem to ennoble the human species, and whose
writings console us for the miseries of human
life! It is reasonable, then, that we should pay
to the manes of that great man, whose loss is

CHAP.
XXXVI.

‘deplored by Europe, the tribute of admiration
‘and panegyric to which his merit has so justly
‘entitled him ²⁰⁹.’

FREDERICK afterwards proceeds to take a view
of VOLTAIRE’S life and writings. After men-
tioning his being confined in his youth in the
Bastile, he says, ‘The unworthy and oppro-
‘brious treatment, which he suffered in his na-
‘tive country, excited his indignation; and,
‘soon after his release from the Bastile, he took
‘refuge in England, where he was received most
‘favourably by the public, and where his distin-
‘guished merit soon gained him many admirers.
‘At London he finished the *Henriade*, which he
‘published in that city, under the title of the
‘Poem of the League. VOLTAIRE, who knew
‘how to make the most of every situation, prin-
‘cipally applied himself, during his residence in
‘London, to the study of philosophy. The
‘most judicious and profound philosophers then
‘flourished in England. VOLTAIRE got hold of
‘the thread, which had conducted the circum-
‘spect LOCKE in the labyrinth of metaphysics.
‘He restrained the impetuosity of his fancy, and
‘subjected it to the laborious calculations of the
‘immortal NEWTON. He made the discoveries
‘of that great philosopher his own, and explained

²⁰⁹ The Panegyric of Voltaire, written by the King of
Prussia, and translated from the French, 8vo. Lond. 1779
p. 5—10.

his system with such elegant simplicity, as made it universally understood. Before this time M. de Fontenelle was the only philosopher who had scattered flowers on the dryness of astronomy, and rendered this science fit to amuse the leisure of the fair-sex. The English were flattered with finding a Frenchman, who, not satisfied with admiring the works of their philosophers, translated them into his own tongue. The most illustrious characters in London were fond of his society; never did any stranger meet with such distinguished favours; yet these, how flattering soever to his self-love, could not extinguish the love of his country, which carried him back into France. The Parisians, enlightened by the ideas which so learned and profound a nation entertained of our young author, began to suspect that their city had produced a great man. Then appeared his *Letters on the English Nation*; a work in which the author describes, with bold and rapid strokes, the manners, the arts, the religion, and the government of that people. The tragedy of *Brutus*, fitted to please a nation of freemen, followed soon after, as well as that of *Mariamne*, and a number of other pieces²¹⁰.

THE king afterwards mentions the death of madame du Chatelet, and Voltaire's invitation

²¹⁰ Panegyric of Voltaire, ut supra, p. 14—17.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

to the court of Berlin; but passes very slightly over the causes of his quitting the Prussian dominions. He observes, that while Voltaire ' was ' yet employing every effort of his reason to ' check the violence of his grief, he was called ' to the court of Prussia. The king, who had ' seen him in the year 1740, wished to have in ' his dominions a man of so uncommon and so ' exalted a genius. In 1752, he appeared at ' Berlin. His conversation was as agreeable ' as it was instructive. His knowledge was ' immense; his imagination equally brilliant ' and fertile; and his wit always ready. He ' embellished every subject by the graces of ' his fancy; and was, in one word, the delight ' of every society. An unfortunate quarrel, ' which arose between him and M. de Maupertuis, divided two learned men, who were made ' to love, and not to hate one another; and the ' war, which broke out in 1756, made him take ' the resolution of fixing his residence in Switzerland. He visited Geneva, and afterwards ' Lausanne, and at length acquired the delicious ' district of Ferney, where he established his ' abode ²¹¹.

AFTER entering into a distinct enumeration of many of Voltaire's pieces, and speaking of his various and extensive abilities, Frederick says, ' Such a diversity of talents, and such a variety

²¹¹ Ibid. p. 21, 22.

' of knowledge, united in the same man, affect
 ' the readers with surprize, mixed with admira-
 ' tion. Call to remembrance, gentlemen, the
 ' lives of the great men of antiquity, whose
 ' names are handed down to later ages. You
 ' will find, that each of them confined his talents
 ' to one particular art. Aristotle and Plato were
 ' philosophers; Æschines and Demosthenes, ora-
 ' tors; Homer, an epic poet; Sophocles wrote
 ' tragedies; Anacreon, songs; Thucydides and
 ' Xenophon, histories. In the same manner,
 ' among the Romans, Virgil, Horace, Ovid,
 ' Lucretius, were poets; Livy and Varro, histo-
 ' rians; Crassus, and the elder Anthony, attended
 ' only to their pleadings. CICERO, that eloquent
 ' consul, the guardian and father of his country,
 ' is the only Roman who possessed the whole
 ' compass of literary attainments. He joined
 ' to that commanding eloquence, which rendered
 ' him superior to all his contemporaries, a deep
 ' knowledge of the philosophy studied in antient
 ' times; as is evident from his Tusculan Ques-
 ' tions, his admirable Treatise on the Nature of
 ' the Gods, and Books of Offices, which con-
 ' tain, perhaps, the best system of morality
 ' which we have seen to this day. CICERO was
 ' likewise a poet. He translated, into Latin,
 ' the verses of Aratus; and it is believed, that
 ' his corrections much improved the philosophi-
 ' cal poem of Lucretius. It is necessary, there-

CHAP.
XXXVI.

fore, to run over seventeen centuries, before we can find, in that immense multitude which composes the human species, a single man fit to be compared with our Author. It may be said, if I may be allowed so to express myself, that VOLTAIRE alone was equal to a whole Academy. In some of his writings we recognize Bayle, armed with all the arguments of logic : in others we seem to read Thucydides. Here he is a philosopher, prying into the secrets of nature ; there a metaphysician, supported by analogy and experience, following, with measured steps, the wary track of Locke. In other performances you find the rival of Sophocles : there he assumes the comic mask ; but the elevation of his genius can hardly descend to an equality with Terence and Moliere. Soon you see him mount on fiery Pegasus, who, extending his wings, carries him to the top of Helicon, where the god of the Muses adjudges him his place between Homer and Virgil²¹².

It is certain, that the king of Prussia was extremely partial to Voltaire ; but it is equally certain, that this most singular man possessed very extraordinary abilities. Perhaps no other author ever acquired, in his own time, such great and general celebrity. The universality

²¹² Panegyric of Voltaire, *ut supra*, p. 38—41.

of his talents excited astonishment; and the keenness of his wit, the fertility of his genius, and the variety of his productions, continually excited the attention of the literary world, throughout every part of Europe. In early youth he appears to have been prejudiced against revealed religion [c]; and there is no reason to believe,

CHAP.
XXXVI.

[c] Very early pains appear to have been taken, to infuse into the mind of Voltaire a dislike to revealed religion. We are informed by the marquis de Villette, that the abbé de Châteauneuf was Voltaire's god-father, and his first instructor. This nobleman also says, that Ninon de l'Enclos one day asked the abbé de Châteauneuf after his god-son: 'My dear friend,' replied the abbé, 'he has been twice christened; but you would not believe it; for, though he is only three years old, he knows all the Moïfade by heart.' The Moïfade was a poem intended to shew, that the Mosaic dispensation had no divine origin. It appears, that Voltaire was twice baptized. He was baptized as soon as he was born, because it was not expected that he would live; and was afterwards baptized again by another priest, who was not acquainted with what had been done before. At his birth, we are told, he scarcely breathed. 'He was left to the care of a nurse, who, during many months, came down every morning to the mother, to acquaint her, that the child was at the point of death; and, for a long time, they had no hopes of preserving its life. Two persons interested themselves very much in this child's welfare. One was monsieur de Rochebrûne, of an antient and noble family of le Haute-Auvergne: the other was the abbé de Châteauneuf, a very well informed man, of a lively disposition, and very agreeable turn of mind. His behaviour was that of a man, who subjects himself to no restraint but that of decorum. He was

the

CHAP.
XXXVI.

believe, that, at any period of his life, he ever examined its evidences with any degree of accuracy or candour. In his own writings, he gave himself little concern about the fairness of his reasonings, or the accuracy of his citations; and he often treated the most interesting and important subjects with a very indecent and censurable levity. He appeared to have an extreme solicitude, to propagate those principles of scepticism and infidelity, by which no man, as an individual, is made happier or better; which are injurious to the interests of society in general; and which are equally unfavourable to the dignity, and to the felicity of human beings. But whatever the demerit of VOLTAIRE in other respects might be, he was undoubtedly entitled to great commendation, for the zeal with which he constantly defended the great principles of religious toleration. As his writings were read, with avidity, throughout every part of Europe, they appear in this view to have been productive of very important and beneficial effects. He had also great merit in exposing the hasty, erroneous, and unjust decisions, which too frequently took place in the French courts of judicature; in sundry instances he nobly distinguished himself

‘ the friend of Chaulieu, and of the princes de Vendome and de Conti. He lived in intimacy with Ninon de l’Enclos, ‘ and was the last person she loved.’ Life of Voltaire, translated by Mr. Monke, p. 11.

as the defender of oppressed innocence; and he exhibited, on various occasions, great humanity and generosity [D].

CHAP.
XXXVI.

BUT

[D] FRANCIS MARIA AROUET DE VOLTAIRE was born at Paris on the 20th of November, 1694. His father, Francis Arouet, was a respectable notary, and treasurer to the chamber of accounts at Paris. He was a man of letters, and his house was much frequented by literary men. Voltaire gave such early indications of an uncommon genius, and of literary talents, that he was said to have made verses almost in his cradle. At ten years of age, he was sent to the college of Louis le Grand in Paris, which was under the direction of the Jesuits. His academical exercises were greatly admired; and the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos left him, by will, 2000 livres, to purchase books. On his leaving college, he was pressed by his father to engage in some profession. 'I choose no other,' said Voltaire, 'than that of a man of letters.' With this answer his father was not pleased, and he sent him for some time to study the law; but he could not be prevailed upon to engage in that profession. His propensity to satire was frequently manifested even in his youth, and when he was about twenty years of age, he was imprisoned in the Bastille, on suspicion of having written a poem against the government. When he had been confined almost a year, he was set at liberty; and afterwards waited upon the duke of Orleans, then regent of France, in compliance with the servile custom of that period, to return thanks for his deliverance. On that occasion the duke said to him, 'Be wise, and I will take care of you.' 'I am infinitely obliged to your royal highness,' replied Voltaire; 'but I beseech you not to trouble yourself, in future, about my board or lodging.'

He afterwards published several pieces at Paris; and he went to England in the year 1725, where he was well received, and continued about three years. He published his

HENRIADE

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1779.

BUT to return to the king of Prussia. At the close of the year 1779, an account was published, under

HENRIADE at London, by subscription, in the year 1726; and the subscription is said to have produced him more than six thousand pounds. On his return to France, he placed the money, which he carried with him from England, in a lottery, established by M. Desfortes, comptroller-general of the finances, by which he was a great gainer; and this laid the foundation of that fortune, which afterwards enabled him to live with so much splendour at Ferney.

His tragedy of BRUTUS was exhibited at Paris in 1730, but did not meet with a very favourable reception. The king of Prussia observes, that 'it was thought that BRUTUS was more adapted to the theatre of London, than to that of Paris, because a father, who should condemn his son to death in cold blood, would, in France, be regarded as a barbarian; but, in England, a consul sacrificing his own blood to the liberty of his country, is considered as a God.' He also published his HISTORY OF CHARLES XII. his tragedy of ZARA, which was received with great applause, and his LETTRES PHILOSOPHIQUES. But a decree of the parliament of Paris having been issued against the latter, he thought proper to quit the capital, and resided for some years at the country seat of madame du Chatelet. In that retirement he composed his ESSAY ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY, his ELEMENTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEWTON, and several of his dramatic pieces. Soon after the death of madame du Chatelet, he repaired to the court of Berlin, and of that period of his history some account has been already given.

After he had quitted the Prussian court, he resided for many years at Ferney; and, during that period, he published his AGE OF LEWIS XIV. and a great number of other pieces. In the last year of his life he went again to Paris, where he was so much visited, and so much courted and caressed, that the

under Frederick's own direction, of the case of the miller Arnold; an affair which excited much attention, and which was much canvassed, throughout the Prussian dominions. The case of this man was stated in the following terms:

‘ One John Michael Arnold, a miller, had bought the lease of a mill belonging to the estate of count Schmettau, of Pommertzig, situated in the New Marche of Brandenburg, near the city of Custrin, and known in that province under the name of the Pommertziger Kerb's Mill. This mill, at the time when Arnold bought the lease of it, was plentifully supplied with water, by a river which empties itself

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1779.

the change in his mode of living appears to have hastened his death. He died at Paris on the thirteenth of May, 1778, and was interred at Sellières, a Benedictine abbey between Nogent and Troyes. The king of Prussia remarks, that ‘ Although M. de Voltaire was naturally of a delicate constitution, and grief, anxiety, and intense application, had greatly weakened his health, he reached his eighty-fourth year. In his existence, mind prevailed in every thing over matter. It was a strong soul, which communicated its vigour to a body almost transparent.’

Voltaire died rich; for he appears to have been always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money. He seems to have made large sums by his writings, and he sometimes engaged in commercial projects. He had a share in a rich mercantile house at Cadiz, and other commercial connexions; and had once part of a contract for furnishing the French army with provisions, by which he is said to have gained nearly thirty thousand pounds.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1779.

into the river Warta. During six years Arnold had made various improvements in the said mill; and, by means of his labour and industry, had been enabled to pay his rent regularly, and to acquire a sufficiency for the maintenance of his family. At the end of that period, the proprietor of the said mill resolved to enlarge a fish-pond; contiguous to his seat, and caused a canal to be cut from the said rivulet, at a small distance above the mill, to supply his fish-pond with water. By these means the current of the stream was lessened, and the quantity of water so much diminished, that the mill could no longer do the usual work. The miller had foreseen the event, and from the beginning had remonstrated against the cutting off the canal. But his remonstrances, as well as his solicitations for cancelling the lease, proving in vain, he was at last forced to seek redress in a court of judicature at Custrin, to whose cognizance the affair belonged; but his lord, being a man of fortune and consequence in that province, soon found means to frustrate his endeavours. He continued to enlarge his fish-pond, so that the miller, instead of obtaining redress, found his water daily decreasing to such a degree, that at last he could only work during two or three weeks in the spring, and about as many in the latter part of the year. Under these circumstances, the miller

could

‘ could no longer procure his livelihood, and
 ‘ pay his rent, and consequently became in-
 ‘ debted to his lord for a considerable sum. The
 ‘ latter, in order to obtain his rent, entered a
 ‘ suit against him in the same court of law at
 ‘ Custrin, which had before refused relief to the
 ‘ miller, and soon obtained a sentence against
 ‘ the miller’s effects ; which sentence, being ap-
 ‘ proved of and ratified in the high court of
 ‘ appeals at Berlin, was put in execution. The
 ‘ miller’s lease, utensils, goods, and chattels,
 ‘ were seized and sold, in order to pay the arrears
 ‘ of his rent, and the expences of a most iniqui-
 ‘ tous law-suit ; and thus poor Arnold, and his
 ‘ family, were reduced to want and wretched-
 ‘ nefs²¹³.’

CHAP.
 XXXVI.
 A. D.
 1779.

In the account published of this case by the king’s direction, it was also stated, that his majesty having been informed of the injustice that had been committed against Arnold, and having strictly examined into the truth of the case, and afterwards summoned the chancellor and judges before him, had made the following declaration :
 ‘ The sentence decreed against the miller Arnold,
 ‘ of the Pommertziger Kerb’s mill, in the New
 ‘ Marche of Brandenburg, being an act of the
 ‘ most singular injustice, and entirely opposite
 ‘ to the paternal intentions of his majesty, whose

²¹³ New Annual Register, vol. I. p. 2, 3.

CHAP.

XXXVI.

A. D.

1779.

‘ desire it is that impartial justice be speedily
‘ administered to all his subjects, whether rich
‘ or poor, without any regard to their rank or
‘ persons ; his majesty, in order to prevent simi-
‘ lar iniquities for the future, is resolved to
‘ punish, in an exemplary manner, the authors
‘ of that unjust sentence, and to establish an
‘ example for the future conduct of judges and
‘ magistrates in his dominions. For they are all
‘ to consider, that the meanest peasant, nay even
‘ the beggar, is a man as well as the king, and
‘ consequently equally entitled to impartial jus-
‘ tice, especially, as in the presence of justice all
‘ are equal, whether it be a prince who brings
‘ a complaint against a peasant, or a peasant
‘ who prefers one against a prince. In similar
‘ cases, justice should act uniformly, without any
‘ retrospect to rank or person. This ought to
‘ be a universal rule for the conduct of judges :
‘ and if the courts of law in his majesty’s domi-
‘ nions should ever deviate from this principle
‘ of equity, they may depend upon being severely
‘ punished. For an unjust magistrate, or a court
‘ of law, guilty of wrong, and subservient to
‘ oppression, are more dangerous than a band of
‘ robbers ; against whom any man may be upon
‘ his guard. But bad men, entrusted with
‘ authority, who, under the cloak of justice,
‘ practise their iniquities, are not so easily
‘ guarded against. They are the worst of villains,
‘ and

‘and deserve double punishment.’—‘The king, CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1779.
‘at the same time, hereby signifies to all his
‘courts of law, that he has appointed a new
‘high chancellor, and that his majesty will be
‘very exact for the future, in the examination
‘of his, and of their proceedings. They are,
‘moreover, hereby strictly commanded, I. To
‘bring all law-suits to the speediest conclusion.
‘II. Carefully to observe, that the sacred name
‘of justice may never be profaned by any acts
‘of oppression and injustice. And III. To act
‘with the most absolute impartiality towards
‘every one, whether prince or peasant, without
‘the least regard to situation in life. And in
‘case his majesty should find their proceedings
‘any ways contrary to the above orders, they
‘may depend upon a rigorous punishment; as
‘well the president, as the respective judges and
‘counsellors, who shall be found guilty of, or
‘accessary to, any sentence directly opposite to
‘the fundamental principles of justice. Whereof
‘all the courts of law, in all his majesty’s domi-
‘nions, are to take notice¹⁴².’ This declara-
tion, some parts of which are truly excellent,
was signed by the king himself, and dated at
Berlin, Dec. 11, 1779.

As Frederick’s decision in favour of Arnold,
and his declaration respecting his judges and

¹⁴² New Annual Register, vol. I. p. 4.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1779.

courts of law, were published not only in the Prussian dominions, but in other parts of Europe, they occasioned his zeal for justice, and the steps that he had taken to promote it, to be spoken of, in foreign countries, in terms of very high commendation. But, in the Prussian dominions, his conduct was censured from the beginning: for when the affair came to be truly and properly stated, it appeared, that the miller's case had been totally misrepresented, and that the king himself had been guilty of a great act of injustice, and treated his chancellor and judges in a most arbitrary and oppressive manner. It appeared, that Arnold was a man of but indifferent character, and that no proceedings had been carried on against him but what were strictly regular and legal. The impediments which he had stated, as preventing him from making the usual profits by his mill, did not in reality exist. It was proved, that the fish-ponds, of which he complained, had not been made by his landlord, and were not claimed by him; that they were the property of another gentleman, who had an undoubted right to the use of the water of the rivulet for the supply of his ponds, by a deed of more than two hundred years standing, during all which time the ponds in question had existed. It was also proved, that Arnold had neglected to pay his rent for more than five years together, and that he had sustained no such injury as he had

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1779.

had pretended¹¹⁵. The case was so circum-
stanced, that the courts of justice could not de-
termine otherwise than they did, without acting
in opposition to the principles of equity, and to
the established laws and usages of the country.
But Frederick, at the same time that he exclaimed
against the injustice of his judges, pronounced
himself a hasty and unjust decision against them,
without any proper investigation of their con-
duct. He had received a false information of
the transaction [E], and precipitately supposed,
that injustice had been done, because the person
with whom the miller had contended was a man
of rank. The cause had been first determined
in a provincial court, against Arnold, and the
sentence was afterwards confirmed in the supreme
court of justice at Berlin. But Frederick not
only reversed the decision by his own authority,
and turned his chancellor, baron Furst, and eight
of his judges out of their offices, but also con-

¹¹⁵ Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late
King of Prussia, p. 289, 290.

[E] The king had first employed colonel Heucking, an old
officer, to procure him the proper information in Arnold's
case; and this gentleman employed as his agent a man whose
name was Bech, who had formerly been an attorney, and who
had been struck off the roll, for iniquitous and illegal prac-
tices, by the provincial court in which the cause had been first
tried. This man gave a false statement of the case, out of
resentment against the court; and to this man's representation
the king gave implicit credit. Latrobe's Characteristic Anec-
dotes, p. 282.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1779.

demned them to close imprisonment for a year at Spandau. He likewise condemned them to pay the full price of the mill, and to restore the same to Arnold, besides paying the full costs of all his suits, and making him a compensation for his loss of time and business²¹⁶.

BARON Zeidlitz, one of the confidential ministers of state, refused to counterfign this decision against the judges; and was, on that account, in disgrace till the king's death. The court and people of Berlin had so strong a conviction of the injustice of the king's proceedings in Arnold's case, that subscriptions were opened for the support of the imprisoned judges, which amounted to much more than their salaries; and the prince-royal of Prussia, and the princess Amelia, were among the number of subscribers. All the proceedings in the case of Arnold have since been reversed. Count Hertzberg says of the present king, that ' he has caused to be ' abrogated and set aside those arbitrary arrange- ' ments, which the late king had made in the ' famous case of the miller Arnold, and has thus ' repaired a striking injustice, which that great ' prince had committed by his mistakes and pre- ' cipitation, and by the consequences even of his ' zeal for justice²¹⁷.'

²¹⁶ Latrobe, ut supra, p. 287, 291.

²¹⁷ Mémoire Historique de la première année du règne de Frederick Guillaume II. Roi de Prusse, p. 14.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1780.

THE conduct of the king of Prussia, in the case of the miller Arnold, shews how incapable any despotic prince, though of the greatest abilities, must ever be, of the proper administration of justice. In this case, Frederick at first really intended to do justice; but the summary manner, in which he attempted to do it, defeated his own end. In consequence of his neglect of those forms of law, which are necessary to ascertain where the truth lies, he was totally mistaken; his information was erroneous, and his decision unjust; and his treatment of his chancellor and judges in the highest degree arbitrary and oppressive. But he could never afterwards be brought to reverse his proceedings. He was accustomed to persist, with the most inflexible obstinacy, in whatever he had once determined, however erroneously, respecting his administration of government, especially when his will and pleasure had been made publickly and generally known.

IN 1780, Frederick wrote a letter to D'Alembert, in which was the following passage: ' We are both old: let us rest satisfied with having seen the glory of an age, which did honour to the human mind, and to which you have contributed. To the splendid days, during which Cicero, Virgil, and Horace flourished, succeeded the times of Seneca and Pliny; and to these barbarism. After the degradation of the human mind came the renovation of the sciences.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1781.

‘ Let vicissitude have its reign, and let us bless
‘ heaven we came into the world in good times,
‘ and have been the contemporaries of men of
‘ talents and genius. With respect to priests,
‘ they will remain incorrigible, till the whole
‘ race be extirpated²¹⁸.’ In another letter to
D’Alembert, dated July 14, 1781, Frederick
says, speaking of some of the proceedings of the
emperor, ‘ This Cæsar Joseph, whom you men-
‘ tion, confirms me in my propensity to the
‘ opinions of the acataleptic sect. Some say he
‘ is at Brussels; others at Paris; and I answer,
‘ like madame de Sevigne, I do not think he is
‘ at either place. He makes all the monks and
‘ abbes of his dominions tremble. Some pre-
‘ tend he hatè the perjured, and obliges these
‘ gentlemen to an exact observance of the vow
‘ of poverty, which they have taken. Here you
‘ see the good which war effects in Christianity;
‘ for war costs immense sums, and princes bor-
‘ row. New wars new debts, which must be
‘ paid. The treasury being empty, what is to
‘ be done? The only remedy is to strip the
‘ clergy of their wealth; and necessity obliges
‘ monarchs to have recourse to this sole remain-
‘ ing expedient. Were our Calvin a witness of
‘ these events, he would thus address us: “ Ad-
‘ mire, brethren, the impenetrable ways of Pro-

²¹⁸ Posthumous Works, vol. XII. p. 237.

“ vidence!

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1782.

“vidence! The Being of Beings, who abhors the
 “horrible and sacrilegious superstition into which
 “the church has fallen, makes not the voice of
 “the sage the instrument to render truth trium-
 “phant; nor deigns to work miracles to root
 “up error! What then is the instrument this
 “Being employs, for the destruction of monks;
 “and to cause those vile and impure organs of
 “fanaticism to vanish from the face of the earth?
 “Kings, brethren, kings! That is to say, the
 “most ignorant species of men that crawl on the
 “surface of this globe!”—‘It is not me, how-
 ‘ever, but John Calvin who says all this. Ob-
 ‘serve the protest, gentlemen of the post-office;
 ‘and, should your noble curiosity induce you to
 ‘inquire into the contents of my letter, do not
 ‘confound my name with that of Calvin. I too
 ‘much respect the profound knowledge of the
 ‘archbishop of Paris, and of his maker of man-
 ‘dates, to wish to give them offence. Neither
 ‘can any person hold the unalterable folly of the
 ‘antique Sorbonne, and its infallible decisions,
 ‘in greater respect ²¹⁹.’

In another letter, the king says to D’Alembert, ‘I am sorry to hear, that you have suffered
 ‘by the gravel, while I have been confined by
 ‘the gout. Of this we must accuse age. Time,
 ‘which has destroyed the temple of Jupiter at

²¹⁹ Ibid. p. 280, 281, 282.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1783.

‘ the Capitol, and left no vestige of the tower
‘ of Babel, whose head, as you know, was in the
‘ clouds; time, I say, will much more easily
‘ debilitate, and fret away, springs so fragile, as
‘ are those which give motion to the human
‘ body. Yet does the clay, of which we are
‘ manufactured, longer resist destruction, than
‘ iron itself, notwithstanding its hardness. You
‘ must know, I inquired how long clocks, which
‘ are placed in church steeples, remain before they
‘ are worn out; and was told, to my great astonishment,
‘ that they must be entirely renewed
‘ once in twenty years: Rust eats the parts, and
‘ occasions the springs to break, by which motion
‘ is stopped; for this reason we two, who
‘ have been impertinent enough to live longer
‘ than the duration of three clocks of iron, ought
‘ not to think it strange, that the machine is out
‘ of order, and that its infirmities presage approaching dissolution ²²⁰.’

IN the year 1783, a memorial was presented by M. de Thulemeyer, the Prussian minister at the Hague, to the States-general, in which it was requested, in the name of his Prussian majesty, that they would take such measures as might effectually put an end to the persecutions which were then carried on against the stadtholder, and that they would maintain him in the

²²⁰ Ibid. p. 323, 324.

full enjoyment of those prerogatives, which, it was said, were the rightful attributes of his person and family. The following year the king himself wrote a letter to the states-general, in which he complained of the many libels that were published in Holland against the prince of Orange. He admitted in this letter, that he was 'not acquainted with the internal constitution of the republic in all its parts²²¹;' but he said, 'We know full well, that owing to a dread lest the liberty of the republic should be endangered, the dignity of the stadtholder has, at times, been entirely laid aside: but without investigating whether such apprehensions were grounded or not, certain it is, that they cannot exist at present; since by the wise and safe policy that actuates the reigning potentates of Europe, those respective powers are watchful for the preservation of each other, and none of them can tamely suffer, much less contribute, to the subversion of the other [F]. You would see us eagerly take the part of the republic, and be the first to act in its behalf, were any such designs broached against the states. But we can SAFELY take upon us to assure, that neither the present stadtholder, nor ANY his most immediate successors, WILL EVER

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1783.

²²¹ Annual Register, vol. XXVII. p. 320.

[F] Of this observation of Frederick, the partition of Poland was an admirable illustration.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1784.

‘ contrive, or undertake, any thing against the
 ‘ freedom or welfare of the republic, as it is in-
 ‘ separable from their own prosperity. We, on
 ‘ the contrary, COULD pledge ourselves, that they
 ‘ WILL EVER discharge the high and important
 ‘ office of stadtholder, and exercise its preroga-
 ‘ tives, conformably to the intentions and mean-
 ‘ ing of your high mightinesses, from which
 ‘ THEY WILL NEVER DEPART; and for this we
 ‘ do most solemnly stand pledged to the states-
 ‘ general²²².’ Frederick farther said, ‘ We flatter
 ‘ ourselves, that you will consider these our re-
 ‘ presentations merely as the emanations of that
 ‘ FRIENDSHIP, which, as their good neighbour,
 ‘ actuates us in favour of the republic; and also
 ‘ as proceeding from that concern, which we
 ‘ must naturally feel for an illustrious house, to
 ‘ which we are so nearly allied; and by no means
 ‘ suppose, that we PRESUME TO MEDDLE in the
 ‘ private affairs of the states, or encroach upon
 ‘ their freedom, grounded on the firmest basis,
 ‘ and so gloriously acquired.’ But his majesty
 added, somewhat inconsistently, ‘ We cannot,
 ‘ considering the situation of our dominions, and
 ‘ of our antient connexions with the republic,
 ‘ forbear feeling the deepest concern for the fate
 ‘ of the illustrious house of Orange, and the
 ‘ continuance of the stadtholdership, which we

²²² Annual Register, vol. XXVII. p. 321.

‘ NEVER CAN TAMELY SUFFER TO UNDERGO ANY CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1785.
‘ ALTERATION ²²³.’ On the seventeenth of September, 1785, Frederick sent another letter to the States-general, in which is the following passage: ‘ We recommend in the most serious
‘ manner to your high mightinesses, the welfare
‘ and interests of the lord hereditary stadtholder,
‘ of our dear niece, and of their family; and we
‘ hope, that your high mightinesses will vouch-
‘ safe to take into deliberation, and make the
‘ lords of the respective states consider, that we
‘ cannot be indifferent respecting the cruel and
‘ unmerited fate of persons so nearly related to
‘ us; but, on the contrary, that we shall watch
‘ over the preservation of their welfare, to which
‘ by every possible means we ought to contri-
‘ bute ²²⁴.’

GREAT dissensions had subsisted for a considerable time in Holland, respecting the stadtholder; and the fact was, that his conduct had afforded too much ground for dissatisfaction. Count Hertzberg mentions it, as one principal reason for the interference of the king of Prussia in the affairs of Holland, that he did it, in order ‘ to
‘ preserve the stadtholdership, and its preroga-
‘ tives, to the family of his worthy and incom-
‘ parable niece, the princess of Orange ²²⁵.’ The

²²³ Annual Register, vol. XXVII. p. 322. ²²⁴ Ibid. p. 365.

²²⁵ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année de la vie de Frederic II. p. 28.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1785.

count's statement is extremely candid. But the office of stadtholder of Holland was not instituted for the benefit of the niece of the king of Prussia, or of any of her relations. It was instituted for the benefit of the people of Holland, who had an undoubted right to abolish the office, whenever they found it useless or pernicious; and the relationship of the king of Prussia to the princess of Orange, could give him no just right to interfere in the domestic government of Holland. This interference, however, may serve to shew, how dangerous and pernicious it is to free states, that their princes or magistrates should intermarry in the families of princes highly despotic, and possessed at the same time of numerous standing armies. Such princes may avail themselves of any pretext, the interruption of a lady on a journey, or any other pretence, however trifling and contemptible, for trampling on the rights of men, or disturbing the peace of nations. No advantages from such alliances are a compensation for the probable dangers of such connexions.

THE constitution of the government of the United Provinces is undoubtedly too aristocratical; but the defects of their government should be reformed by the Dutch nation themselves, and not by Prussian or any other foreign troops. No magistrate who requires his authority to be maintained by such means, by the assistance of mercenary

mercenary troops of another nation, can deserve, any support from the friends of freedom, and the rights of human nature. The inhabitants of Utrecht, and of several other parts of Holland, were endeavouring to introduce a greater mixture of democracy into the constitution of the republic; and, if no foreign power had interfered, their form of government would probably have been gradually and essentially improved. The preservation of the balance of power in Europe, has sometimes been pretended as a reason for such interpositions; but it never can be necessary for the preservation of the balance of power, that one nation should claim a right to dictate to another respecting their conduct to their own magistrates, or whether a particular office of magistracy should be continued or abolished.

+ Such interpositions are a manifest violation of natural right, and are not to be justified by any such pretences.

IF the interference of the king of Prussia in the domestic government of Holland cannot justly be defended, a similar interference on the part of England, must have been still more indefensible, and more inconsistent. It could ill become a nation, who had cut off the head of one tyrant, and driven another from the throne, to tell the people of Holland, that they should not be dissatisfied with their stadtholder. The prepossessions of the court of England may lead them

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1785.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1785.

them to defend the cause of the stadtholder; but it can never be the interest of the people of England, nor in any degree honourable to their character as a nation, to engage in a contest in support of the claims of the stadtholder, in opposition to the sense of a great part of the people of Holland. Of the conduct of the stadtholder, the Dutch nation are the sole and proper judges; nor can the inhabitants of any foreign country have a right to dictate to them, what judgment they shall form, or in what manner they shall act, respecting a magistrate of their own creation. Every nation must have a natural and unquestionable right to regulate its own internal government; and if the Dutch choose to remove their stadtholder, or to abrogate his office, it would be no necessary consequence, that the balance of power in Europe would be overturned. Indeed, the balance of power should be maintained by other and better means, than by preventing the inhabitants of a country from correcting the defects of their own mode of government, or from opposing the authority of a magistrate, whom they conceive to have violated his trust.

It is the interest of Great Britain, and of the United Provinces, to be on terms of peace and friendship with each other; and the best method that England can adopt, in order to prevent other nations from acquiring an undue ascendancy

dancy in Holland, is to treat the Dutch with equity, to admit all their just claims, and to avoid any improper interference in their internal government. It is not very reasonable to expect, that the inhabitants of Holland should be ready to employ their fleet in support of the liberties of Europe, if they are to be deprived of their own liberties; which is undoubtedly the case, whenever they are compelled by foreign powers to an implicit submission to the authority of their stadtholder, or prevented from making those arrangements in their own domestic government, which they may judge to be expedient.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
A. D.
1785.

As to the balance of power, it may be reasonable, that attention should be paid by Great Britain to its preservation; but it does not therefore follow, that Great Britain should take an active, burthensome, and expensive part, in every dispute upon the continent, in matters in which she is not at all interested, and in cases in which the acutest politician can hardly determine, on which side the balance is likely to preponderate. Whenever she does take any part in continental disputes, it should be in support of general liberty. That is the part most suited to the genius of the nation, and which will ever be found in the result most conducive to its real interest and honour.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The great attention of the king of Prussia to the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the general prosperity of his dominions.—Increase of population in the Prussian dominions during the reign of Frederick.—Establishment of the Germanic union.—Treaty of amity and commerce between Prussia and the United States of America. Death of the king.

CHAP.
XXXVII.

SOME of the latter years of Frederick, though they were not distinguished by such actions as greatly excite the attention of mankind, were yet in reality more illustrious than those of any preceding period. During these years, he employed extraordinary assiduity in the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce throughout his dominions, and in increasing their population, and general prosperity. Count Hertzberg says, ‘ Agriculture being the surest
‘ means of increasing population, because it furnishes the most immediate and necessary subsistence to the inhabitants of a country, the
‘ king not only rebuilt the villages and farms which had fallen into decay, but also caused
‘ new ones to be erected, and especially in the neighbourhood of rivers. The greatest part of
‘ these rivers having formerly overflowed their
‘ banks,

the
the
of
the
er-
be-
ca.

gh
ns
re
ny
i-
n
ce
g
at
ft
-
-
e
s
d
e
f
r

' ba
' ho
' pr
' da
' ar
' re
' bu
' th
' be
' fro
' do
' W
' 12
' cr
' th
' fa
' fro
' an
' in
' th
' en
' of
' O
' bu
' ha
' far
' aff
' nic
' gre
V

rp®

' ba
' he
' pr
' da
' ar
' re
' bu
' the
' be
' fro
' do
' W
' 12
' cro
' the
' fan
' fro
' and
' in
' the
' env
' of
' On
' bui
' han
' fam
' affo
' nies
' gro
Vo

banks, and overwhelmed much fertile ground, he found means to confine them within their proper bounds; and, by thus preventing inundations, he recovered many acres of excellent arable and pasture land, which he gave to foreign settlers, on condition that they should build and stock their farms; and, to encourage them to do this, he granted them, for a number of years, an exemption from taxes, and from military service. This was particularly done along the banks of the rivers Netz and Warthe, from Driesen to Custrin, by which 120,000 acres were recovered from the encroachments of those rivers, and in which three thousand families obtained settlements. The same was effected on the banks of the Oder, from Custrin to Oderberg; along the Havel and the Elbe, round the great lake of Madue in Pomerania, and in the march of Fiener in the province of Magdeburgh; and also in the environs of Potsdam, and in a great number of other places throughout the provinces.— On these newly recovered lands, the king built between five and six hundred villages and hamlets, and established more than 42,000 families.— In travelling over these lands, it affords great pleasure to find flourishing colonies, good buildings, fine fields, rich pasture grounds, and numberless herds of cattle, where

CHAP.
XXXVII.

‘ formerly nothing was to be seen but water and
‘ marshes ²²⁶. ’

THE same noble writer informs us, that ‘ the
‘ king, not satisfied with having built all these
‘ villages, and established so great a number of
‘ families, by colonies of foreigners, and of na-
‘ tives, also advanced, to many gentlemen and
‘ landholders, sums, amounting to several mil-
‘ lions of crowns, in order to enable them to
‘ clear and to improve their estates. These
‘ sums were either a free donation, or were lent
‘ at the low interest of one or two per cent. the
‘ produce of which was appropriated for pen-
‘ sions to school-masters, and to the widows or
‘ daughters of poor officers. By these means
‘ he caused to be cleared, and to be cultivated,
‘ almost all the land which was capable of it,
‘ and which was in any degree worth the labour.’
— ‘ He likewise gave to cultivators of land, of
‘ every kind, more than three hundred hereditary
‘ farms, or possessions, out of his own demesnes.’
— ‘ He also promoted the interests of agricul-
‘ ture, by causing the seeds of lucerne, trefoil,
‘ and lupin, to be distributed to every farmer
‘ who would apply for them; by ordering a
‘ great number of cows to be purchased for
‘ many; and by directing large sums to be ex-

²²⁶ Dissertation sur la Population des Etats en général, et
sur celle des Etats Prussiens en particulier, p. 9, 10.

‘ pended

‘pended every year in premiums and bounties, ^{CHAP.}
 ‘in order to encourage farmers to prosecute ^{XXXVII.}
 ‘every kind of rural industry.

‘ONE of the principal means which the king
 ‘adopted, in case of bad harvests, in order to
 ‘prevent famine, and its depopulating conse-
 ‘quences, was to erect, in every province, im-
 ‘mense storehouses for corn, for the subsistence
 ‘of his army in time of war, and of his other
 ‘subjects in seasons of natural scarcity. By
 ‘purchasing this corn, he kept the price of it
 ‘sufficiently high to encourage the husbandman;
 ‘and, by opening his stores, could at any time
 ‘prevent the market from rising so as to distress
 ‘the people. By these means the Prussian do-
 ‘minions, though not remarkable for extraor-
 ‘dinary fertility, suffered nothing, and were
 ‘even able to supply their neighbours, in the
 ‘dreadful famine of 1772, the effects of which
 ‘were so fatal in some of the most fertile parts
 ‘of Germany ^{227.}’

FREDERICK was equally attentive to manufac-
 tures and to commerce. Manufactures and trades
 of almost all kinds were either established by
 him, or received encouragement from him, at
 Berlin, at Potsdam, and in every other part of
 his dominions. ‘We are in possession,’ says
 count Hertzberg, ‘of almost every possible kind

²²⁷ Dissertation, ut supra, p 11, 12, 13, 14.

CHAP.
XXXVII.

of manufacture, and can not only exclusively supply the Prussian dominions, but also furnish the remote countries of Spain and Italy with linen and woollen cloths. Our manufactures go even to China, where some of our Silesian cloths are conveyed by the way of Russia. We export every year linen cloth to the amount of six millions of crowns, and woollen cloths and wool to the amount of four millions; which, added to the iron-works and hardware of the county of Mark, which brings into circulation about a million of crowns, to the timber of Brandenburg and Pomerania, to the corn, flax, and timber of Prussia, and to the important Polish trade that we carry on through Konigsberg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzick, and Stettin, affords us sufficient evidence of the balance of trade being very decidedly in our favour. So many manufactures naturally give subsistence to a great number of workmen, and draw many foreigners into the country; and the augmentation of this class of citizens necessarily increases the general population. We have in the different dominions of the king about 123,000 workmen, who work in silk, in woollen, in linen, in cotton, in leather, and in other materials, various kinds of merchandize, to the amount of sixteen millions of crowns, of which eight are for foreign consumption. If we compute that the family of every workman consists

‘ consists only of four persons, our manufactures
 ‘ give subsistence to half a million of people.’

CHAP.
 XXXVII.

‘ THE king protected and encouraged manu-
 ‘ factures in every possible manner, especially by
 ‘ advancing large sums of money to assist them
 ‘ in carrying on their manufactures, animating
 ‘ them by rewards, and establishing magazines
 ‘ of wool in all the little towns, for the benefit
 ‘ of the small woollen manufacturers. It was
 ‘ with a view to encourage trade, that the inha-
 ‘ bitants of Berlin and Potsdam were exempted
 ‘ from military service ; and his majesty granted
 ‘ nearly the same indulgence to the inhabitants
 ‘ of the circles of the mountains of Silesia, where
 ‘ the poor, but industrious and sober weavers,
 ‘ and who are settled in a narrow and barren
 ‘ district, carry on those flourishing linen manu-
 ‘ factures, which produce us an exportation of so
 ‘ many millions ²²⁸.’—‘ The navigation of the
 ‘ Prussian dominions was likewise greatly bene-
 ‘ fited and increased, by the countenance and
 ‘ protection which the king gave to his flag,
 ‘ which was respected every where, and even by
 ‘ the inhabitants of Morocco. We employ, in
 ‘ the maritime provinces, Prussia, Pomerania,
 ‘ and East Friesland, twelve hundred vessels ;
 ‘ and, if we reckon ten men for the crew of
 ‘ every vessel, this trading marine gives employ-

²²⁸ Dissertation, ut supra, p. 15, 16.

CHAP.
XXXVII.

'ment and subsistence to twelve thousand seamen. Our own national vessels carry almost the whole of the importation and exportation of the Prussian dominions; and they begin to carry on a considerable coasting trade, especially the vessels from Embden ²²⁹.'

AMONG the different manufactures which were patronized and encouraged by Frederick, he was particularly attentive to the silk manufacture [G]; and it made, during his reign, a very rapid progress. He also endeavoured to introduce the English manufactures into his dominions; and, with that view, he gave ten thousand crowns, in the year 1784, for machines for carrying on the Manchester manufactures ²³⁰; and four thousand

²²⁹ Dissertation, ut supra, p. 18.

[G] Count Hertzberg says, 'The king adopted every method of favouring and encouraging the growth of mulberry trees, and the culture of silk; especially by advancing sums of money, and by causing houses and rooms to be built for small cultivators. Hence we see that this species of culture has made a great progress, and chiefly by the zeal for the promotion of it, that hath been excited in the country clergy, by rewards in money, medals, and other distinctions. This is an object of the greater importance to the state, as, during three months of the summer, it affords employment and subsistence to a number of persons, who are too young, or too old, for more laborious occupations, and this without any prejudice to agriculture.' Dissertation, ut supra, p. 17.

²³⁰ Dissertation, ut supra, p. 25.

crowns, in 1785, towards establishing a manu-
 factory of English earthen-ware at Königsberg²³¹. CHAP.
XXXVII.

By the various methods that the king adopted for increasing the number of his subjects, the population of his dominions was so much augmented, as to be nearly double what it was at his accession, without taking into consideration his new acquisitions. Count Hertzberg, after stating the population of the Prussian dominions, in 1784, to amount to six millions, says, ‘ When the king ascended the throne, in 1740, the whole population of his dominions amounted to 2,240,000 persons. If to this be added two millions for the population of Silesia, West Prussia, and East Friesland, as the three provinces that the king acquired, and if these two millions are deducted from the sum total of six millions, there will remain for the increase of the population of the antient provinces the number of 1,770,000, which is nearly double the amount of the antient population; and if that of the new provinces be taken into the account, population hath been nearly trebled²³² during the reign of Frederick [H].’

TOWARDS

²³¹ Dissertation sur la véritable Richesse des Etats, &c. par M. de Hertzberg, p. 43.

²³² Dissertation sur la Population, &c. p. 23.

[H] Of the whole increase of population in the Prussian dominions, during the reign of Frederick, I cannot speak with such full and entire approbation as seems to be expressed by

CHAP.
XXXVII.

TOWARDS the close of his reign, Frederick issued an order, that when any of his subjects came near him, or had any thing to present to him, they should not approach him kneeling²³³; that, he said, being an improper posture, on any other occasion but that of addressing the Supreme Being. About the same time he also made a second reform in the laws, and the administration of justice, under the direction of the high chancellor, De Carmer; by which the principal direction and management of law-suits was left to the judges, and the influence of the advocates was greatly diminished. It has, however, been justly supposed, that too much power was given to the judges by the new arrangement, and that the Prussian subjects have been deprived of some security against the partiality of judges, by the restraints that have been put upon the advocates by the new regulations.

count Hertzberg. The king was undoubtedly entitled to great applause, for many of the methods by which he endeavoured to extend the population of his country; but I can never speak with commendation of that increase of the general population of the Prussian dominions, which was occasioned by an augmentation of territory not justly acquired, and by forcibly dragging away many thousand families from their native country, merely for the aggrandizement of the Prussian monarchy, without the least regard to justice or to humanity.

²³³ Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 126.

IN

IN the year 1785, a scheme was formed by the emperor, to prevail on the elector-palatine, by the offer of a crown, to agree to an exchange of the duchy of Bavaria, including all those appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teschen, for the Austrian Netherlands, which were to be constituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Aufrasia. To this scheme the elector-palatine appeared inclined to agree; but it was strongly opposed by the king of Prussia, who, together with the duke of Deux-Ponts, insisted upon the treaties of Teschen, and of Pavia, as well as on the balance of Germany, as irrefragable arguments against any alienation of Bavaria²³⁴. Frederick at length completely defeated the scheme of the emperor, by proposing what is called THE GERMANIC UNION; or, a new treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective states in particular; which was signed at Berlin on the 23d of July, 1785; the principal parties being the king of Prussia, the king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, and the elector of Saxony²³⁵. The margrave of Anspach, the duke of Deux-Ponts, and

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1785.

²³⁴ Dissertation sur la veritable Richesse des Etats, la Balance du Commerce et celle du Pouvoir, par M. de Hertzberg, p. 20.

²³⁵ Annual Register, vol. XXVII. p. 131.

other

CHAP. other German princes, were also included in this
XXXVII. treaty.

A. D.
1786.

IN 1786, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between the king of Prussia, and the United States of America. The ministers employed, for the negociation of this treaty, were, on the part of the king of Prussia, baron Thulemeyer, and on the part of the United States, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Esq; and Thomas Jefferson, Esq. It was stipulated by this treaty, that there should be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and sincere friendship, between his majesty the king of Prussia, his heirs, successors, and subjects, on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens on the other, without exceptions of persons or places; that the subjects of the king of Prussia might frequent all the coasts and countries of the United States of America, and reside and trade there in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize; and that they should pay within the said United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nations did, or should be obliged to pay; and they were to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation did or should enjoy²³⁶.

²³⁶ Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States of America, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, 8vo. 1786, p. 6, 7.

In like manner, the citizens of the United States of America might frequent all the coasts and countries of the king of Prussia, and reside and trade there, with the same privileges; but both the Prussians and the Americans were to conform to the laws of the country in which they were resident. Each of the contracting parties were to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which should be within the extent of their jurisdiction, by sea or by land. The antient and barbarous right to wrecks of the sea was to be entirely abolished, with respect to the subjects or citizens of the two contracting parties²³⁷. This treaty, in framing of which the enlightened and benevolent mind of Dr. Franklin is supposed to have been chiefly employed, also contained several excellent regulations for preventing cruelty to prisoners in case of war, for allowing them the necessary provisions when in confinement, and for putting a stop to the depredations of privateers, and other calamities incident to a time of war.

FREDERICK had now attained to the age of seventy-four years, and was in full possession of those uncommon powers of understanding, by which he had always been distinguished. But his body was not equally vigorous with his mind.

²³⁷ Treaty, *ut supra*, p. 13.

He

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

He had in general enjoyed good health, though he had frequently been afflicted with the gout; but his bodily disorders now began to increase, and he was extremely dropfical, without being himself sensible that he had that disorder. He continued, however, to apply himself to the public business with his usual assiduity. 'He employed the same indefatigable attention,' says count Hertzberg, 'to the internal government of his kingdom, and to the management of his affairs, during the last seven months of his life, as he had done formerly, and with the same success, notwithstanding the painful malady with which he was all that time afflicted.' — 'Notwithstanding his desperate situation, he did not remit for a moment his practice of reading all the dispatches of his foreign ministers, or of dictating every morning, from four till seven, the answers that were to be sent immediately to those dispatches [1], and main-

[1] It is said that, at this period of his life, and when he was thus employed, one of his secretaries, at the very time that he was presenting a paper to him, fell down dead at his feet. The king appeared not in the least affected by the accident, but coolly said, 'Let the body be taken away;' and having sent for another secretary, went on with his business, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. *Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse*, tome IV. p. 115.

' taining

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

‘ taining a regular correspondence with the mi-
 ‘ nisters of his cabinet, and those for foreign
 ‘ affairs, on all great political concerns.’—‘ He
 ‘ kept up the same exact and daily correspon-
 ‘ dence with the ministers in the department of
 ‘ justice, and in that of the finances; and he di-
 ‘ rected himself, without any minister or general,
 ‘ the whole of the military correspondence,
 ‘ dictating his orders to his secretaries and aids-
 ‘ du-camp. I remember, that, a few days be-
 ‘ fore his death, he even prescribed to these last
 ‘ all the manœuvres that were to be performed
 ‘ at the reviews in Silesia, adverting to the mi-
 ‘ nutest circumstances of locality. At the same
 ‘ time, he sent for general D’Anhalt to Pots-
 ‘ dam, in order to direct some new military
 ‘ arrangements, for the raising of free battalions,
 ‘ to expedite the movement of the army in case
 ‘ of a war. He likewise ordered to attend him,
 ‘ at Potsdam, the ministers of state De Hoym
 ‘ and De Werder, and the privy-counsellor
 ‘ Schutz from Pomerania, to settle with them
 ‘ some new plans for the cultivation of land, and
 ‘ the improvement of manufactures, which he
 ‘ proposed to have executed in 1787, in the dif-
 ‘ ferent provinces; and particularly that which
 ‘ he had so much at heart, to have new villages
 ‘ built at his own expence in all the districts,
 ‘ where the husbandmen resided on plains of too
 ‘ great extent, or where population appeared to
 ‘ be

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

‘ be too limited. He also took particular pleasure in the execution of a design that he had formed, of causing three hundred sheep and rams to be brought from Spain, in order to improve the breed of our own flocks. As these sheep were to pass, a few days before his death, by Potsdam, he expected them with impatience; being desirous, as he himself said, that some of them might come “ to pay him a visit at Sans-Souci ²³⁸.”

IN the month of June, 1786, Dr. Zimmerman, who is well known for his valuable medical productions, and his other ingenious writings, arrived at Potsdam, from Hanover, in order to attend the king as a physician. On the 9th of that month, the doctor had received from Frederick the following letter:

‘ Dr. Zimmerman,

‘ For eight months past I have been violently afflicted with an asthma. The physicians of this country give me medicines of every kind; but, instead of affording me relief, they tend only to render my disorder worse. As the reputation of your skill is well known throughout all the Northern parts of Europe, I should be very glad if you would take a jaunt hither, for a fortnight, that I may consult you respect-

²³⁸ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année, &c. p 6, 7.

‘ ing

ing my health, and the circumstances of my
 present case. You may readily believe, that I
 will defray the expences of your journey, and
 make you a proper compensation for your
 trouble. If you agree, therefore, to this pro-
 posal, I shall send you a letter to his royal
 highness the duke of York, who will readily
 grant you permission to comply with my re-
 quest: and, in this hope, I beg that God may
 take you under his sacred and safe protection.

CHAP.
 XXXVII.
 A. D.
 1786.

‘ Potsdam, June 6, 1786 ²³⁹. ’

Dr. Zimmerman arrived at Potsdam on the
 23d of the same month; and the next day, at
 six in the morning, he received a message from
 the king, that he was informed of his arrival
 at Potsdam, and that he wished to see him in
 two hours. When the doctor arrived at Sans
 Souci, an officer of the king's household con-
 ducted him to the office of the private secretaries.
 While he was waiting, he inquired of this officer,
 how the king did, and who was his physician.
 The officer answered, ‘ The king is very ill;
 and, at present, one of his hussars in waiting
 is his physician.’ ‘ One of his hussars in wait-
 ing his physician!’ said Dr. Zimmerman, with
 surprise: ‘ Yes, sir,’ continued the officer; ‘ and

²³⁹ Dr. Zimmerman's Conversations with the late King of
 Prussia, translated into English, Lond. 8vo. 1791. p. 1, 2.

‘ some-

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

‘ sometimes his majesty is his own physician.
‘ This huffar is his majesty’s principal valet de
‘ chambre ; his name is Schoening.’ Schoening
introduced him to the king ; and Dr. Zimmer-
man gives the following account of the king’s
appearance, and of his manner of receiving him.
‘ When I entered,’ says he, ‘ the apartment of
‘ the king, I found him sitting in a large elbow
‘ chair, with his back turned towards that side
‘ of the room by which I had entered. He had
‘ on his head a large hat, very much worn, or-
‘ namented with a plume of feathers, equally
‘ antient ; and his drefs consisted of a furtout,
‘ of sky blue sattin, all bedawbed before with
‘ Spanish snuff. He wore boots ; and rested one
‘ of his legs, which was very much swelled, upon
‘ a stool ; while the other hung down to the
‘ floor. When he perceived me, he pulled off
‘ his hat, in a very polite and affable manner ;
‘ and, in a mild tone of voice, said, “ I return
“ you many thanks, sir, for your kindness in
“ coming hither, and for the speed with which
“ you have performed your journey.” After
some previous conversation, the king said to the
doctor, ‘ You see I am very ill.’ Zimmerman
replied, ‘ Your majesty’s eye is as good as when
‘ I had the honour of seeing you here fifteen
‘ years ago. I observe not the least diminution
‘ in that fire and vigour, with which your ma-
‘ jesty’s eyes were then animated.’ ‘ Oh !’ said

Frederick,

of

rp[®]

Frede

' my

' Ger

' maj

Frede

merm

' in t

' dou

' for l

' in t

DR

was de

willing

he had

table p

dome

' the e

' his f

' seafo

' enou

' whic

' his g

440 Z

[x] I

Histoire S

of the sta

' extraor

' highest

' smoked

' tity of

241 Ibi

VOLA

Frederick, 'I am grown very old; and I find
' myself extremely ill.' Zimmerman answered,
' Germany and Europe are not sensible of your
' majesty's illness.' 'My occupations,' said
Frederick, 'go on in their usual train.' Zim-
merman then said, 'Your majesty rises at four
' in the morning, and by that you prolong and
' double life.' 'I do not rise,' said the king;
' for I never go to bed. I pass the whole night
' in this easy chair, in which you now see me²⁴⁹.'

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

Dr. Zimmerman found, that the king's case
was decidedly dropfical; but he was very un-
willing, for a considerable time, to believe that
he had a dropsy. Frederick was a very intrac-
table patient; and his physician learned from his
domestics, that 'no idea could be formed of
' the excess which the king allowed himself in
' his food [κ]; that his cooks were obliged to
' season all his dishes in such a manner, as was
' enough to destroy his stomach; and that those,
' which were most difficult of digestion, were
' his greatest favourites²⁴¹.'

²⁴⁹ Zimmerman's Conversations; ut supra, p. 6—13.

[κ] In a letter dated Aug. 15, 1786, the author of the
Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin, after giving some account
of the state of the king's disorder, says, 'His appetite is so
' extraordinary, that he generally eats of ten or twelve of the
' highest seasoned dishes. His breakfast and supper consist of
' smoked tongues, with bread and butter, and a large quan-
' tity of pepper.' Vol. I. p. 86.

²⁴¹ Ibid. p. 17.

CHAP.

XXXVII.

A. D.

1786.

IN the course of his attendance on the king, Dr. Zimmerman had various conversations with him on literary subjects. In one of these Frederick said, 'LOCKE and NEWTON were, of all men, the deepest thinkers; but the French understand much better than the English the manner of expressing things well.' Zimmerman replied, 'The English language is, without doubt, very proper for treating of philosophy, and the higher branches of science; but the parliament always sees some new Demosthenes start up in its bosom. The English language is adapted also for the simple and noble style of history; and, for works of humour and pleasantry, it is inferior to no language whatever.' 'Robertson and Hume,' said the king, 'are historians of the first class; I esteem them both very much.' 'Gibbon,' replied Zimmerman, 'is, perhaps, superior to either of them. All the beauties and dignity of which the historic style is susceptible, are united in Gibbon. His periods have an enchanting harmony, and all his thoughts are deep and nervous³⁴².' The king then made some inquiry concerning the writings of Mr. Gibbon, with which he appeared to be unacquainted.

In another conversation with Dr. Zimmerman, Frederick said, speaking of Switzerland, 'William

³⁴² Ibid. p. 29, 30.

‘Tell was a great benefactor to his country.’ CHAP.
 Zimmerman replied, ‘Tell, and his compa- XXXVII.
 ‘nions, did the greatest service that can be ren- A. D.
 ‘dered to a country. To these heroes we are 1786.
 ‘indebted for our liberty.’ The king said, ‘I
 ‘am very fond of republican constitutions. The
 ‘present age, however, is dangerous for all re-
 ‘publics. Swisserland alone seems likely to
 ‘subsist long. I love the Swiss, and above all
 ‘the government of Berne. There is dignity
 ‘in every thing which that government does.
 ‘I love the people of Berne²⁴³.’

THOUGH Frederick treated Dr. Zimmerman, on the whole very respectfully [L], he sometimes was in a very ill humour; and on one or two occasions spoke to him, he says, ‘with terrible looks, sparkling eyes, his head raised up,’ and such a voice as he never before heard in his life²⁴⁴. Dr. Zimmerman also says, ‘Always when the king was in a bad humour he called me *Mr. Physician*; at other times he never made use of this expression²⁴⁵.’ Dr. Zimmerman found

²⁴³ Ibid.

[L] Schoening, who had heard all Zimmerman’s first conversation with Frederick, said to the doctor afterwards, ‘I never saw the king so mild and tractable when medicines were prescribed for him; and I believe that he never before in his life behaved with so much politeness to a physician.’ Conversations, p. 34.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 22.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 70.

CHAP. the king's case too bad, for him to be able to
 XXXVII. afford him any thing but some temporary relief.
 A. D. 1786. He received two thousand crowns for the expences

of his journey; and quitted Potsdam on the 11th of July [M]. When he took leave of the king, Frederick said to him, 'Adieu, my good, my dear Mr. Zimmerman [N]; do not forget the old man whom you have seen here ²⁴⁶.'

OF the behaviour of Frederick, during some of the latter weeks of his life, the following account has been published by count Hertzberg, who attended him to the moment that he expired: 'The last five weeks of his life,' says the count, 'from the ninth of July to the seventeenth of August, when he died, I passed by his desire at his palace of Sans-Souci. The counts de

[M] In a letter dated on the same day on which Dr. Zimmerman left Potsdam, Mirabeau says, 'Parties are very busy at Berlin, especially that of prince Henry, who is eternally eager, without well knowing what he wishes. But all is silence in the king's presence. He still is king, and will remain so to the last moment.' *Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin*, tome I. p. 8.

[N] Dr. Zimmerman has since published 'Select Views of the Life, Reign, and Character, of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia,' which have been translated into English by Major Neuman, and published in two volumes, 12mo. In this work Dr. Zimmerman's extreme partiality to the Prussian monarch is very conspicuous. He is manifestly disposed to vindicate, or to palliate, the most censurable of his actions. But his account of his conversations with Frederick, during his attendance on him, is interesting and curious.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 91.

' Schwerin, De Gortz, De Lucchefini, and De
 ' Pinto, who were with him three or four hours
 ' a day, can join me in the attestation, that
 ' though much swollen and incommoded with
 ' the dropsy, so that he could not move, without
 ' assistance, from a chair in which he rested day
 ' and night, not being able to enjoy the comfort
 ' of a bed, and though it was evident that he
 ' suffered dreadfully, he never betrayed the least
 ' symptom of uneasiness, or any disagreeable
 ' sensation; but preserving always his serene,
 ' contented, and tranquil air, and without ever
 ' speaking of his condition, or of death, he con-
 ' versed with us, in the most cordial and agree-
 ' able manner, on the public news, on literature,
 ' on antient and modern history, and particu-
 ' larly on rural affairs and gardening, to which
 ' he was greatly devoted, and which he never
 ' ceased to cultivate. His regular and constant
 ' custom was, after having read, night and morn-
 ' ing, the dispatches of his foreign ambassadors,
 ' with the reports military and civil of his gene-
 ' rals and ministers, to send either at four or
 ' five o'clock, as the exigency of affairs might
 ' require, for his three cabinet secretaries in suc-
 ' cession, to one of whom he dictated the answers
 ' to be given to each of his ministers at foreign
 ' courts, which he afterwards communicated to
 ' me; and to the other two his orders and an-
 ' swers to ministers of state, or to generals, upon

CHAP.
 XXXVII.
 A. D.
 1786.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

‘ matters of military concern, or of finance, or
‘ of justice, as well as his answers to the letters
‘ and applications of individuals; and that in so
‘ minute and regular a manner, on subjects won-
‘ derfully combined, that the secretaries had no-
‘ thing to do but to add the titles, dates, and
‘ the usual formalities. Having discharged this
‘ business, at about seven or eight o’clock, he
‘ ordered in the commandant of Potsdam, the
‘ lieutenant-general De Rohdich, and his aids-
‘ du-camp, to give them verbal orders relative
‘ to the duties of the garrison for the day. It
‘ was not till he had thus fulfilled all the duties
‘ of a sovereign, that he for a few moments saw
‘ his surgeon, and sometimes a physician, in
‘ order to pay that attention to the state of his
‘ body which necessity required. About eleven,
‘ the counts De Schwerin, De Gortz, De Luc-
‘ chesini, and De Pinto, with myself, went to
‘ him, and conversed with him till the clock struck
‘ twelve, when he dismissed us, and took his
‘ dinner alone. In the afternoon, he signed all
‘ the dispatches and letters which he had dictated
‘ in the morning, and which his secretaries were
‘ obliged to prepare by that time. He again
‘ sent for us at five o’clock, and kept us with
‘ him till eight [o], when we withdrew to supper,
‘ and

[o] Dr. Zimmerman tells us, that once, during the time
that he was at Potsdam, ‘ when the company who formed his
‘ evening

' and left him to pass the remainder of the evening, in having passages read to him from
 ' antient authors, such as Cicero, Plutarch, &c.
 ' and in reading afterwards such new dispatches
 ' as he had received, and then taking such sleep
 ' as his condition would permit him. This
 ' course of life was invariably continued till the
 ' fifteenth of August, on which day he dictated
 ' and signed his dispatches, in a manner that
 ' would have done honour to a minister the most
 ' conversant in the routine of business. It was
 ' not till the sixteenth of August, that he ceased
 ' to discharge the great functions of a king, and
 ' of a minister of state, on which day he was de-
 ' prived entirely of sense, and on the morning
 ' of the seventeenth he exhaled his mighty soul,
 ' in my presence, and in that of the respectable
 ' physician, Dr. Selle, without any convulsive
 ' motion²⁴⁷.

CHAP.
 XXXVII.
 A. D.
 1786.

SUCH was the end of this great and celebrated monarch, who died in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and in the forty-seventh of his reign. He was interred, with great funeral pomp, on the ninth of September following. The church, in which the royal remains were deposited, was entirely hung with black; and on six columns

' evening party arrived, Frederick dismissed them, by saying.
 " Gentlemen, I shall be in too bad humour this evening."

P. 70, 71.

²⁴⁷ Mémoire Historique, ut supra, p. 8, 9, 10.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

were paintings, in grey, intended to exhibit some of the most remarkable circumstances and transactions of the reign of Frederick. The first painting represented the king's conquests in Silesia; the second, the great stand made by him, against such numerous and powerful enemies, during the seven years war; the third, the embellishments of the towns, and the cultivation of waste lands, throughout the Prussian dominions; the fourth, the taking possession of Western Prussia; the fifth, the Germanic Union; and the sixth, the protection afforded, during the reign of Frederick, to the arts and sciences. Six trophies were also erected within the church, on which were inscribed the names of twelve of the principal battles fought during his reign; namely, MOLWITZ, CZASLAU, SOHR, HOHEN-FRIEDBERG, KESSELDORFF, LOWOSITZ, PRAGUE, ROSBACH, LISSA, ZORNDORFF, LIGNITZ, and TORGAV. In eleven of these battles, Frederick himself had commanded, and was victorious. The battle of KESSELDORFF was gained by the prince of Anhalt-Deffau.

FREDERICK left behind him a will, of which the following is a translation: ' After having
' restored peace to my kingdom; after having
' conquered countries, raised a victorious army,
' and filled my treasury; after having established
' a good administration throughout my domi-
' nions; after having made my enemies tremble;

' I re-

' I resign, without regret, this breath of life to
 ' Nature. I leave to my very dear nephew, CHAP. XXXVII.
 ' Frederick William, my conquered and acquired A. D. 1786.
 ' countries; my palaces, my buildings, my gar-
 ' dens, my paintings, my wardrobe, and my
 ' furniture; on condition, that he tenders the
 ' trifles which I destine to my family, as a mark
 ' of my remembrance of them; for my estates,
 ' my treasure, and my people, are his inheritance
 ' by birthright. I desire my nephew to leave
 ' to the queen, my consort, what she has at pre-
 ' sent, and to add 10,000 crowns per annum.
 ' She never gave me the least uneasiness during
 ' my whole reign, and she merits every attention
 ' and respect for her many and unshaken virtues.
 ' I leave to my brother Henry 200,000 crowns;
 ' the Chrysoprase ring set with diamonds, which
 ' I wear; one of my most beautiful Chrystal
 ' chandeliers; and fifty anthiels of Hungarian
 ' wine. To my brother Ferdinand 50,000
 ' crowns, a coach, and eight horses. To princess
 ' Amelia 10,000 crowns per annum, and a ser-
 ' vice of silver. To princess Henry 6000 crowns
 ' per annum. To princess Ferdinand 10,000
 ' crowns per annum, and a box set with dia-
 ' monds. To the duchess-dowager of Brunf-
 ' wick 50,000 crowns, and a silver service. To
 ' the duke of Brunswick two English horses, and
 ' their furniture. To duke Ferdinand a hand-
 ' some snuff-box, garnished with brilliants, be-
 ' cause

CHAR.
XXXVII.
A. D.
1786.

' cause he has always been my friend. To prince
' Frederick of Brunswick 10,000 crowns. To
' the duchess of Wurtemberg, mother to the
' grand duchess, 20,000 crowns. To the prince,
' her consort, a diamond ring. To the dowager
' landgravine of Cassel 10,000 crowns. I re-
' commend to you, my dear nephew, my brave
' and noble army; all my old officers, particu-
' larly those who were about me; all my house-
' hold, and my servants; let them serve you;
' and if they are old, endeavour to provide for
' them. My first battalion of life-guards shall
' have two crowns each man; the staff-officers
' each a medal, representing one of the most
' memorable actions of the war of seven years;
' that they may remember me, and their own
' glory. The little legacies that I have left are
' not out of the treasury. That is not mine: it
' belongs to the state. Look upon it always as
' such, my dear nephew. These legacies pro-
' ceed from my savings, and I hope you will
' fulfil my last requests. To be a king is a
' chance, but never forget that you are a man.
' I flatter myself, that there will be no disagree-
' ment in my family. Private views should be
' forgotten for the well-being of the state. Let
' harmony reign among you, for the honour and
' glory of your ancestors, and for the common
' good.'

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Character of Frederick III. king of Prussia.—Further account of his writings.—Additional anecdotes.

FREDERICK, the third king of Prussia, CHAP.
XXXVIII.
 was in his person below the middle stature; but his limbs were well formed, and he had a healthful and vigorous constitution. The portraits of him, at different periods of his life, exhibit a considerable diversity of appearance. In his earlier years, he seems to have possessed a handsome countenance, and a graceful figure; but he was afterwards much altered by the perpetual fatigues that he underwent. In the latter part of his life, he stooped considerably in the shoulders; and his head was almost constantly inclined on one side. He was short-sighted; but he had fine blue eyes, full of vivacity and fire; and his look was expressive of uncommon keenness and penetration. His tone of voice was extremely clear and agreeable; and he spoke several of the modern languages with ease and gracefulness. He talked much, and with great sprightliness, and excelled at repartee. In conversation, his features acquired a degree of animation, which no portraits could exhibit; and though not generally fond of the company of
 2 women,

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

women, he yet displayed great vivacity in conversing with such ladies, as were possessed of any superior merit. His intellectual powers were great; and when we advert to his situation, and to the little care that had been taken of his education, it must be acknowledged, that his literary acquisitions were considerable. He had much general knowledge of the sciences, and was extremely conversant with French writers in polite literature; but he is said to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language; and he acquired his knowledge of the great authors of antiquity, both Greek and Roman, chiefly through the medium of French translations. He was partial to the literature of France; but, in the latter years of his life, this partiality was much abated. His memory was uncommonly retentive; and he recollected the faces of those soldiers, who had served in his own regiment, when prince, more than forty years after. In his convivial hours, among his favourites, he was chearful, facetious, witty, and sarcastic. But his raileries on those, who were admitted to his familiarity, were often too biting; though he sometimes met with very smart retorts, and which he generally received with good humour.

His conduct and character were very various, and at different times appeared in a very different light. His predominant passion was the love of glory; and this often led him to those actions,
which

which would extend his fame, and excite the attention of mankind, rather than to those which were dictated by virtue. He may truly be said to have been covetous of fame: for he wished to unite in his own person the reputation of a great king, a wise legislator, an illustrious hero, an accomplished general, a fine poet, and an enlightened philosopher. But though he loved fame more than virtue, and was more solicitous to extend his reputation, and to enlarge his dominions and his power, than to regulate his conduct by the principles of justice and humanity; he wished, notwithstanding, for the praise of virtue, even when his actions were in direct opposition to its clearest dictates. Hence it arose, that his conduct was often variable and inconsistent; and that the same man sometimes appeared an unfeeling tyrant, and at other times mild, gentle, and humane.

ONE great object of his aim appears always to have been, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and in this he would probably have succeeded much more than he did, if his conduct, at the beginning of his reign, had not so strongly excited the jealousy and apprehension of his neighbours, and produced so formidable a confederacy against him. There is reason to believe, that he had formed great schemes, which the number of his enemies prevented him from being able to put in execution. Had not France and
Russia

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Russia united against him, he might, perhaps, have totally crushed the house of Austria, and overturned the whole Germanic system.

ACTIVE, enterprizing, indefatigable, and intrepid, he kept his neighbours in continual alarm; and their apprehensions of him were the greater, because he seemed scarcely to scruple any means that would effectuate his purposes. In the conduct of his affairs, he possessed the most unremitting vigilance, the most unwearied industry, and the keenest sagacity in seizing those decisive moments, which were the most favourable to the promotion of his views. At periods, and in situations, of uncommon difficulty, and uncommon danger, he displayed the highest degree of courage, astonishing presence of mind, and the greatest magnanimity. No dangers, no difficulties, no fatigues, could deter him from the prosecution of those schemes, to which he was prompted by his ambition, and his love of fame. In attention to his army, to his government, and to the general concerns of his kingdom, he was probably the most indefatigable prince that ever existed. Every department of government was under his own immediate inspection; and the most minute particulars of national domestic policy did not escape his observation. And, notwithstanding the many faults in his character, there is the utmost reason to believe, that no prince then in the world employed
fo

so much time and attention as ~~FREDERICK~~ did, ^{CHAP.} XXXVIII.
for the last twenty years of his life, in promoting the happiness of his subjects, and the general prosperity of his dominions, so far as was consistent with his mode of government, and with the maintenance of his own power and authority.

As he was born heir to a despotic monarchy, and trained up from his infancy in military ideas, these circumstances ought to be taken into consideration in judging of his character. But with the taste for literature, and the distinguished talents that he possessed, he would probably have been a better man, and a better king, if he had not so early imbibed the pernicious scepticism of VOLTAIRE. Though he wrote against Machiavel in his youth, he yet appears to have adopted much Machiavelian policy; and, on many occasions, his conduct appeared to be more characterized by craft and subtilty, than by generosity, or true dignity of mind. The case of baron Trenck, his treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony, and other instances, also afford evidence of too convincing a nature, that he could occasionally be guilty of great cruelty.

His talents as a general were of the very highest order. In this character, he was eminently distinguished by the rapidity of his marches, his skill in the art of encampment, and the dexterity of his manœuvres; by the fertility of his expedients, and his extensive knowledge
of

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

of military science; and by the promptitude with which he availed himself, even in the heat of action, of every circumstance that could be turned to his advantage. He was sometimes chargeable with rashness; but it was in those cases, in which he had some important object in view, for the promotion of his general designs; and, in such cases, he sacrificed the lives of his men, with a readiness that reflected no honour on his character.

THOUGH naturally and generally parsimonious, he was occasionally magnificent and liberal. He was also kind to his domestics, if they properly discharged the duties of their stations; and manifested a great attachment to some of his generals, and others, whom he favoured with his friendship. His love of music accompanied him through life; and except at those times when the circumstances of war, or other affairs of importance, rendered it impracticable, he attended his concerts with almost as much uniformity and exactness, as his military reviews. His ablest musical performers were with him in the camp; and in his most active and busy campaigns, he always devoted some time to musical performances, and to the pursuits of literature. With all his faults, he was undoubtedly a great king, possessed of very splendid qualities; and, indeed, one of the most distinguished and extraordinary

ordinary princes, of whom the records of history have preserved to us any memorial.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Of several of the literary performances of the king of Prussia, I have already given some account. His poetical compositions, which, excepting his poem on the Art of War, consist chiefly of odes and epistles, have passed through many editions, under the title of *OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI*. There are variations in the different editions; and an edition was printed at Lyons, in 1760, which contains some passages, that were omitted in most of the editions printed at Potsdam, in order to avoid giving offence to foreign courts. The works published in his own time, both in prose and in verse, were collected together, and printed at Amsterdam, in 1790, in four volumes, octavo, under the title of "*Oeuvres Primitives de Frederick II. Roi de Prusse; ou Collection des Ouvrages qu'il publia pendant son regne.*" The first volume contains his *Anti-Machiavel*, Military Instructions for the Generals of his Army, and his correspondence with M. de la Motte-Fouquet. The second volume contains his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*. In the third volume are his poems; and in the fourth a variety of pieces in prose, philosophical, moral, historical, critical, and literary; particularly *Reflexions on the military talents and cha-*

VOL. II.

F f

rafter

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

rafter of Charles XII. king of Sweden ; a Discourse on War ; Letters on Education, and on the love of our country ; and a Discourse on German literature [P].

IN his ' Instructions for the Generals of his ' Army,' Frederick has displayed great military knowledge ; and some passages in these instruc-

[P] Frederick, though not a believer in revealed religion, was not an atheist. In his Discourse on German literature is the following passage : ' All things, even to the vegetation ' of a blade of grass, prove the existence of a Deity ; and ' if man enjoys a degree of intelligence, which he did not ' give to himself, this must still more strongly shew, that the ' Being from whom he derives every thing, has a mind in- ' finitely more profound, and more immense, than the mind ' bestowed on man.' *Oeuvres Primitives*, tome IV. p. 389. Passages to the same purpose occur in his Critical Examination of the *Système de la Nature*. In his Discourse on German Literature, he has shewn much prejudice against German literature and the German language ; though some of his observations were highly worthy of the attention of the Germans. But Dr. Zimmerman says, ' Notwithstanding Frederick's pre- ' dilection for foreign literature, he never slighted or despised ' the German nation. All his grand ideas were put in execu- ' tion by Germans ; all his bold and immortal exploits per- ' formed with them. Nor did he scorn the German language : ' all letters concerning internal or foreign affairs, all the re- ' ports of his ministers and generals, he ordered to be written ' in German ; and in the field he spoke German with all his ' officers, even with those who were natives of France. The ' Royal Academy of Berlin alone were obliged to write ' French ; and at his table, and in his evening entertainments, ' he spoke nothing but French.' *Select Views*, vol. I. p. 111.

tions are not unworthy of attention. ' If I were
 ' solely attentive,' says he, ' to my own glory,
 ' I would always make my own country the
 ' theatre of war: for there every inhabitant is a
 ' spy; so that it is impossible for the enemy to
 ' take a single step, of which I am not instantly
 ' informed; and I can without danger harraßs
 ' and perplex him with large detachments, as
 ' often as I think fit.'—' When we make war in
 ' a neutral country, there appears to be no ad-
 ' vantage on either side. It, therefore, depends
 ' upon each army, to try which of the two can
 ' most effectually obtain the confidence and
 ' friendship of the inhabitants.'—' If you are
 ' in a Protestant country, as in Saxony for in-
 ' stance, you are to act the part of a zealous
 ' protector of Lutheranism; and to inspire the
 ' common people, whose simplicity is easily im-
 ' posed upon, with religious enthusiasm. If the
 ' people are Roman Catholics, you are to talk of
 ' nothing but toleration, and throw all the blame
 ' of the violent animosity between the different
 ' sects of Christians upon the priests of each;
 ' who, notwithstanding their disputes, are agreed
 ' in the fundamental articles of faith. With
 ' regard to detachments in a neutral country,
 ' you are to be very circumspect, unless you are
 ' well assured of the good will of the inhabi-
 ' tants, or at least of the greatest part of them.
 ' In an enemy's country, as in Bohemia and
 ' Moravia,

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

‘ Moravia, it behoves you to act with infinite
 ‘ caution; and, for the reasons mentioned, never
 ‘ to trust a detachment at any considerable dis-
 ‘ tance from your main body. You must carry
 ‘ on all your operations under your own eye.
 ‘ Your light troops are to be chiefly employed
 ‘ in escorting your convoys. You are not to
 ‘ expect ever to be able to gain the affection of
 ‘ the inhabitants. The Hussites, in the circle
 ‘ of Koningsgratz, are the only people that can
 ‘ be made at all useful. As for the nobility,
 ‘ they are all traitors, notwithstanding they pre-
 ‘ tend to be well disposed towards us. It is
 ‘ their interest to side with the house of Austria,
 ‘ and therefore it were foolish to depend upon
 ‘ any of them ²⁴⁸.’

IN the third article of his Instructions, Freder-
 rick says, ‘ As soon as you enter an enemy’s
 ‘ country, you must seize all the brewers and
 ‘ distillers who are to be found in the neighbour-
 ‘ hood, and oblige them in particular to furnish
 ‘ gin, that the soldier may be supplied with a li-
 ‘ quor, without which he cannot possibly exist ²⁴⁹.’
 In the article relative to magazines and sub-
 sistence, he says, ‘ It is necessary to be very cir-
 ‘ cumspect in the choice of commissaries; for

²⁴⁸ Military Instructions, written by the King of Prussia,
 &c. p. 74—77. Oeuvres Primitives de Frederic II. tome I.
 p. 184, 185, 186.

²⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 16.

‘ if these gentlemen happen to be rascals, the
 ‘ state will suffer considerably. You must,
 ‘ therefore, endeavour to find a superintendant
 ‘ of known probity, who will frequently and
 ‘ minutely examine their proceedings²⁵⁰.’

In the ‘ Instructions for the Light Troops,’
 the king says, that the first care of an officer,
 commanding an advanced guard, must be, ‘ to
 ‘ surround his post with a chain of sentries, or
 ‘ *videts*, in such a manner, that nothing can
 ‘ possibly approach him without his knowledge.
 ‘ Videts are to be double; and—it being sup-
 ‘ posed, that one of the two videts is a man to
 ‘ be depended on, the officer will remember to
 ‘ give him orders, that when he has any thing
 ‘ to report, he must always dispatch his comrade
 ‘ to the guard, lest being left alone he might
 ‘ desert. The two videts ought never to sepa-
 ‘ rate, unless when one goes with a report to the
 ‘ guard. If one of them should attempt to de-
 ‘ sert, the other must instantly blow out his
 ‘ brains; for he must be answerable for the fide-
 ‘ lity of his comrade²⁵¹.’

ONE of the king’s instructions, relative to the
 methods to be employed for obtaining intelli-
 gence of the enemy, deserves to be noticed for
 its singular iniquity. ‘ When you find it very

²⁵⁰ Military Instructions, written by the King of Prussia,
 &c. p. 9, 10.

²⁵¹ Ibid. p. 176—183.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

‘ necessary,’ says Frederick, ‘ yet very difficult, to gain any intelligence of the enemy, there is another expedient, though a cruel one. You take a rich burgher, possessed of lands, a wife, and children. You oblige him to go to the enemy’s camp, as if to complain of hard treatment, and to take along with him as his servant, a spy who speaks the language of the country; assuring him, at the same time, that, in case he does not bring the spy back with him, after having remained a sufficient time in the enemy’s camp, that you will set fire to his house, and massacre his wife and children. I was forced to have recourse to this cruel expedient, when we were encamped at ———.

‘ IT ANSWERED MY PURPOSE ²⁵².’ To compel a peaceable citizen to act as a traitor to his own country, and to induce him to do this, by assuring him, that otherwise his house would be fired, and his wife and children massacred, is an idea that could have been suggested only by a man, who supposed, that the most sacred ties, divine and human, were to be sacrificed to the ambition of princes.

IN 1788, were published at Berlin, in fifteen volumes, octavo, ‘ Oeuvres Posthumes de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse.’ The two first volumes

²⁵² Military Instructions, written by the King of Prussia, sec. p. 70. Oeuvres Primitives, p. 181, 182.

contain

contain the History of his own Time, to the year 1745. The third and fourth volumes contain his History of the Seven Years War. The fifth contains Memoirs from the Peace of Hubertsbourg, in 1763, to the Partition of Poland in 1775. The sixth contains Considerations on the present State of the political Powers of Europe, an Essay on Forms of Government, and on the Duties of Sovereigns; Dialogues of the Dead [Q]; a Critical Examination of the *Système de la Nature*; a Preface to the *Henriade*; a Dissertation on the Innocence of Errors of the Understanding; and some poetical epistles to M. Jordan. The seventh and eighth volumes contain poetical pieces, and some letters to Jordan and Voltaire. The remaining seven volumes contain a continuation of his correspondence, including letters to and from Fontenelle, Rollin, Voltaire, D'Argens, D'Alembert, Condorcet, and others. These Posthumous Works of the king,

[Q] One of these Dialogues of the Dead is between prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the prince of Lichtenstein; and in this dialogue the latter is represented as saying, when speaking of the supposed reveries of the French philosophers, 'Governments are all to be reformed. FRANCE IS TO BECOME A REPUBLIC, and a mathematician is to be her legislator; and these governing mathematicians are to regulate all the operations of the new republic by the doctrine of infinites. THIS REPUBLIC IS TO MAINTAIN PERPETUAL PEACE, AND TO SUBSIST WITHOUT AN ARMY.' *Oeuvres Posthumes*, tome VI. p. 104.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

though published at Berlin, by the authority of the Prussian court and ministry, were printed by subscription. Another edition of his Posthumous Works has been printed at Basil; they have also been printed in the French language in London; and a translation of them into English has been published by Mr. Holcroft, in thirteen volumes, octavo. In Mr. Holcroft's translation are pieces not to be found in the foreign editions, and the letters are better arranged.

THE king of Prussia's History of his own Times is undoubtedly a valuable work; but neither in his statement of facts, nor in his delineation of characters, is Frederick always to be depended on. He is more impartial in his accounts of his campaigns, than in his representation of the views with which he entered into his wars; but he has not done justice to some of the most distinguished commanders, in the Austrian service, who were employed to act against him. His conduct in Saxony, and respecting the partition of Poland, was too atrocious to be fairly represented by himself; and it is sufficiently manifest from his History, that he could not forgive the elector of Saxony, nor his subjects, nor his minister, because they were unwilling to join in such measures, as were best calculated to promote the aggrandizement of the house of Brandenburg.

FRE-

FREDERICK wrote two prefaces to the History of his own Time, one in 1746, and another in 1775. In his first preface is the following passage: ' You will read in this work of treaties made and broken; and on this head I ought to observe to you, that we must act in subordination to our means and our faculties. When our interests change, we must change with them. Our employment is to watch for the good of our people; and the moment we find that they are endangered by any alliance, we should break it immediately, rather than expose them to hazard. In doing this, the sovereign sacrifices himself to the advantage of his subjects. All the annals of the universe furnish instances of this; and, indeed, it is impossible that one can act otherwise. Those who condemn this principle of conduct, are such as regard an engagement or word given to be sacred. They are right; and I think with them, so far as it is applied to individuals: for a man who has given his word to another, even though he has made an inconsiderate promise, which may tend greatly to his own prejudice, is bound to keep it, because honour is above interest; but a prince, who enters into an engagement, does not commit himself alone; otherwise he would be exactly in the case of the private individual; but he exposes large states, and great provinces, to a thousand evils.

' It

CHAP.
XXXVIII

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

‘ It is then better for the sovereign to break a
 ‘ treaty, than to occasion the ruin of his people.’
 This preface was published by count Hertzberg
 in 1787. The second preface written by him
 was prefixed to his *Histoire de Mon Temps*, as
 published at Berlin. The two prefaces are con-
 siderably different; but both of them contain
 apologies for the breach of treaties; though the
 arguments are somewhat differently stated.

IN his review of the different states and princes
 of Europe, at the commencement of his History,
 Frederick has the following passage: ‘ Of all
 ‘ the European nations, the English was then
 ‘ the most opulent. Its commerce embraced
 ‘ the whole earth; its riches were excessive; its
 ‘ resources almost inexhaustible: but though en-
 ‘ dowed with all these advantages, it did not
 ‘ hold that rank among nations which appeared
 ‘ to be its due. George II. elector of Hanover,
 ‘ then reigned in England. He possessed virtues
 ‘ and abilities; but his passions were warm to
 ‘ excess. He was firm in his resolutions, but
 ‘ rather avaritious than œconomical; he was
 ‘ capable of labour, incapable of patience, vio-
 ‘ lent, and brave; but he governed England
 ‘ according to the interests of his electorate [R];

[R] This assertion of Frederick’s is too well grounded.
 Since the death of queen Anne, some of the most important
 interests of Great Britain have repeatedly been sacrificed to
 German connexions, and to the private views of the elector
 of Hanover.

‘ and

‘and he was too little master of himself to
 ‘manage a nation whose idol was liberty²⁵³.’

CHAP.
 XXXVIII.

In another part of his History, speaking of the period of the American war, and of the British house of commons, Frederick says, ‘A million sterling, which the nation paid annually to the king for the support of his civil list, was not sufficient to satisfy the venality of the members of parliament. This sum, destined for the maintenance of the royal family, of the court, and of the ambassadors, being annually employed to rob the nation of its energy, there remained to king George III. for his household, and the support of the royal dignity at London, only the five hundred thousand crowns which he drew from his electorate of Hanover. The English nation, degraded by its own sovereign, henceforth had no other will but his²⁵⁴.’ Speaking afterwards of the defeat of general Burgoyne, and the capture of him and the British army by the Americans, the Prussian monarch says, ‘Such an event as this would formerly have made the whole nation revolt against the government, and even caused a revolution. It produced nothing now but a few feeble murmurs: so much more powerful was the love of riches than the love of their country; and so

²⁵³ Histoire de Mon Temps, tome I. p. 47, 48.

²⁵⁴ Oeuvres Posthumes, tome V. p. 189.

‘much

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

' much did this nation, once so noble and so generous, prefer personal advantage to the general welfare. The king of England, who pertinaciously supported the system of Bute, was but rendered the more obstinate by the difficulties which continually started up. Little sensible of the misfortunes which would fall upon his people, his ardour for the execution of his projects increased; and that he might gain a superiority over the Americans, he negociated in every court of Germany, in order to draw from them such succours as they might be able to afford him ³³⁵.'

To the anecdotes of FREDERICK which have been already given, in several parts of this work, I shall here add a few more, which may tend, in some degree, still farther to illustrate his character.

AFTER the second Silesian war, the king travelled into different parts of his dominions, and among other places arrived at Cleves, where he ordered the public accounts to be laid before him. On examining them, he found that a considerable annual sum was paid, out of the revenue arising from the ducal forests, to the monks of the monastery of Minorites in that town; and inquiring on what account, was informed, that

³³⁵ Ibid. p. 193, 194.

the money was left by former dukes, that a certain number of masses should be said daily for their souls. Upon this the king expressed a desire to see the monastery; and being conducted thither, he found the monks arranged in two rows; and, immediately upon his entrance, they struck up the Ambrosian hymn. 'Who are these?' said Frederick. 'They are,' said the prior, 'the monks who read masses for the souls of the late dukes, in order to procure their release from purgatory.' 'My poor cousins continue a long time in purgatory,' said the king; 'can you tell when they will be released?' 'That, sire,' replied the prior, 'is a point very difficult to be determined; but the moment that I am acquainted with their being removed out of purgatory, I will immediately dispatch a messenger to Potsdam, to give your majesty information of their deliverance.' The king smiled, and turning to one of his attendants, said, 'There is no doing any thing with this man: he has studied among the Jesuits²⁵⁶.'

In a Roman Catholic town, in Silesia, several of the silver offerings, dedicated to the virgin Mary, were discovered to be missing. A soldier was suspected, and the things being found in his possession, he was condemned to death as a sacri-

²⁵⁶ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tom. IV. p. 21, 22.
Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 146, 147.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

legious robber. But he resolutely denied the commission of any theft; asserting, that the virgin, out of compassion to his poverty, had presented him with the offerings. The sentence, however, as usual, was laid before the king for his confirmation; but upon reading the case, and the defence of the soldier, he ordered the opinions of several Popish clergymen to be taken, whether, according to their religion, the miracle was impossible? They replied, that the case was extraordinary, but not impossible. The king then said, that the soldier could not be put to death, because the divines of his own religion allowed that it was possible, that the offerings might have been given him by the virgin Mary, as he had stated. 'But,' added Frederick, 'I strictly charge him, upon pain of death, never to receive hereafter any present from the virgin Mary, or from any saint whatever.'

At a review in Prussia, a woman made application to the king, requesting that he would grant her son, who was a private soldier in the guards, leave of absence, that he might have an opportunity of visiting her. The king did not comply with her request; but, upon his return to Potsdam, he informed the soldier, that his mother was in good health, and desired to be affectionately remembered to him. The following year the king was again in Prussia, and the woman came again to request the same favour.

The

The king knew her immediately; and, before she could speak a word, told her, that 'her son' CHAP. XXXVIII.
 'was well, and would be very glad to see her
 'at Potsdam ²⁵⁷.'

FREDERICK was one day conversing with an English gentleman, about the state of affairs in England, at a time when a great part of the nation appeared, from the public prints, to be engaged in a violent opposition to the government. After various inquiries and remarks, the king began to talk in a very high tone, concerning the measures which he would have adopted, if he had been king of England. The Englishman coolly replied, 'If your majesty were to be king of England, you would not continue in your office three days.'

ONE evening, at the time when he had regular supper parties, he facetiously put the question to each of those who supped with him, what he would do if he were king of Prussia? In general, they made very flattering answers; but when he put the question to D'Argens, the marquis replied, 'By my faith, sire, I would sell my kingdom, in order to purchase a province of France with it ²⁵⁸.'

A major-general in the Prussian service, who was an able officer, and a man of merit, was

²⁵⁷ Latrobe's *Characteristic Anecdotes*, p. 202.

²⁵⁸ *Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse*, vol. IV. p. 6.

observed

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

observed frequently to speak in very strong terms of the blessings of liberty, and the humiliating chains of despotism. This being reported to the king, Frederick wrote to him, ‘ Monf. major-general, I must beg that you will no longer continue to play the part of Brutus in my dominions; or, otherwise, I shall be obliged to conspire against your liberty²⁵⁹.’

IN the year 1753, a literary man sent to the king the plan of a literary work, and a letter, in which he informed him, that Voltaire and Montesquieu had expressed their approbation of his design, and had subscribed to his work; but that he did not choose to resolve upon publication, till he had also the honour of his majesty’s name. Frederick wrote back: ‘ You are too difficult: the names that you have mentioned to me, are worth more than those of all the kings in Europe. I will, however, add my name to your list, that I may have my name enrolled with theirs²⁶⁰.’

THE princess Elizabeth Christina Ulrica of Brunswick, who was married, in 1765, to the prince-royal of Prussia, was afterwards divorced from him, and kept in a kind of confinement at Stettin. At the time when this princess was in that situation, she gave orders to have some rich

²⁵⁹ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, vol. IV. p. 25.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 7, 8.

stuffs sent from Lyons, and directed to her at Stettin. As foreign stuffs pay a very large duty in the Prussian dominions, the collector of the customs thought proper to detain them, because the princess had given no directions for the payment of the duty. The princess was highly incensed at this; but sent word to the collector, that she would satisfy his demands, and desired him to come himself with the stuffs for that purpose. Her orders were obeyed; but the collector was no sooner introduced into her presence, than she took the stuffs from him with great indignation, and at the same time gave him two or three cuffs in the face. The collector, enraged at this treatment, addressed a long and very formal memorial to the king, setting forth how much he had been dishonoured in the performance of his duty. To this complaint Frederick returned, in his own hand, the following answer: ‘ The loss of the duty must be placed to my account; the stuffs must remain with the princess; the cuffs with him that received them. As to the supposed dishonour, I cancel it at the request of the complainant: but it is of itself null; for the white hand of a fair lady cannot possibly dishonour the face of a custom-house officer ²⁶¹.’

²⁶¹ Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. p. 23,

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

THE lady of the president of the court of justice, and the lady of the president of the chamber of revenue, at Cleves, had frequent disputes about precedence; and the lady of the president of the court of justice insisted, that, in all public assemblies, she had a right to take place of the other. This enraged her rival to such a degree, that she wrote to the king, and desired that his majesty would determine, which of the two ladies had a right to walk first. Frederick returned the following laconic answer: 'Let the greatest fool walk first.'

MONS. T. a lieutenant-colonel and engineer in the French service, deserted, and came to Potsdam, where he was presented to the king under the assumed title of count D. Frederick finding him to be a man of talents, accepted his services, and gave him good appointments; and the pretended count introduced a lady, under the character of his wife, to the queen and princesses. The princess-royal was particularly civil to her, and often invited her to her table. About a year after the arrival of this couple, the pretended countess died; and not long after, to the astonishment of every one at Potsdam, the count's real wife made her appearance; and then it came out, that the deceased was a courtesan, whom he had picked up at Paris. This story made much noise, and soon reached the king's ears, who

who thereupon wrote the Frenchman the following letter :

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

‘ Lieutenant-colonel count D. or Mr. T.

‘ When I thought you could be useful to me,
‘ it was a matter of indifference to me whether
‘ you had a wife, or a mistress. With my usual
‘ indulgence, therefore, I overlook your insolence in introducing her to the royal family.
‘ She is dead, and the affair is at an end. I advise you, however, to reflect a little, before you think of introducing this other lady, who has just made her appearance. Content yourself with serving me faithfully. At your age and mine, it is time to have done with the women.

‘ FREDERICK ³⁶².

A PROFESSOR of the university of Halle, named Eberhard, had been appointed minister of Charlottenbourg by the consistory. But the inhabitants of that town, who were desirous of having another person for their minister, protested against the appointment, alleging, that Eberhard had written an apology for Socrates. The consistory, however, rejected the representations of the people, who thereupon presented a petition to the king, in which they stated, that they could

³⁶² Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. p. 68, 69.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

not trust the care of their souls to a man, who had maintained, in a public writing, that Socrates, though a heathen, would be saved. Frederick returned their petition, with these words added at the bottom: 'It is my pleasure that Socrates should be saved, and that Eberhard should be your minister'²⁶³.

A CLERGYMAN, who was minister at Valangin, had been turned out of his office, for having preached against the doctrine of eternal damnation. He applied to the king for redress, who ordered him to be reinstated in his benefice, and exhorted the people of Valangin to act, for the future, in a more tolerant and rational manner. Great opposition, however, was still made to the clergyman, and a remonstrance upon the subject was presented to the king, in which it was stated, that the people were determined to hear nothing said against the doctrine of eternal damnation. As it was an affair of religion, Frederick did not choose to engage any farther in the contest; and, therefore, returned the remonstrance, with these words added at the bottom: 'If my loving subjects in Valangin choose to be damned eternally, I have nothing to say against it'²⁶⁴.

THE magistrate of an inconsiderable village in the electorate of Brandenburg, had committed

²⁶³ Vie de Frédéric II. tome IV. p. 32.

²⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 33, 34. Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 112, 113.

a burgher to prison, who was charged with having blasphemed God, the king, and the magistrate. CHAP.
XXXVIII.

The burgomaster reported the same to the king, in order to know what punishment such a criminal deserved. In the margin of the prisoner's case, which was transmitted to him, Frederick wrote with his own hand the following sentence:

' That the prisoner has blasphemed God, is a
' sure proof that he does not know him; that
' he has blasphemed me, I willingly forgive;
' but as he has blasphemed the magistrate of the
' town, he shall be punished in an exemplary
' manner; and, therefore, I order him to be
' committed prisoner to the fortrefs of Spandau,
' for half an hour ²⁶⁵.'

In the course of his second war with the empress-queen, we are told, that his valet de chambre was prevailed upon to attempt to poison him. Frederick, who is said to have been an excellent physiognomist, observing something unusual in the look of the man that morning, and that he trembled when he gave him his chocolate, he fixed his eyes upon him with great steadfastness, and said to him at the same time, ' I am certain, that you have been bribed to poison me.' The man denied it; but the king gave the chocolate to a dog, and the animal died

²⁶⁵ Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 161, 162. Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 131.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

in about two hours. He did not, however, put the man to death; but having learned from him in what manner he had been bribed, and by whom, he contented himself with sending him prisoner to the fortress of Spandau, from whence he was released some years after ¹⁶⁶.

THE following anecdote is related by Dr. Zimmerman. One day, while the king was alone in his apartment at Sans Souci, he happened to fall asleep. Before the window, which was open, stood a box containing a large quantity of ducats, rolled up in different pieces of paper. One of his lackies, who chanced to pass the window at that time, seeing the king asleep, took a rouleau of the ducats without any ceremony, and walked off with it. Frederick, however, soon discovered that he had been robbed; and calling one of his hussars in waiting, said to him, 'I have lost a rouleau of ducats, and I desire to know who has taken it.' The hussar, in great consternation, assured the king, that he knew nothing at all of the matter; adding, that his majesty, perhaps, laboured under a mistake, and that it seemed impossible that any one could take the ducats in his presence. 'If you cannot,' replied the king, 'tell me the name of the thief, I will make you responsible for the robbery.'

¹⁶⁶ Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 15.

The hussar represented to his majesty, that he could not answer for what passed in his apartment when he was not there. 'I am not unjust,' said Frederick; 'but as you are well acquainted with your comrades, you must know whether there be a thief amongst them.' The hussar instantly retired, made diligent inquiries to discover the guilty person, and at length succeeded. The king, when the man was brought before him, addressed him in the following words: 'You villain, you have robbed me of a rouleau of ducats. Hold—here is another rouleau of the same value. Quit the palace this moment, and get out of my territories as fast as you can. Lose not a single moment; for if you remain here long you will infallibly be hanged²⁶⁷.'

FREDERICK being once informed, that a corporal in his guards, a handsome young fellow, and at the same time very brave, wore, from vanity, a watch chain, to which, for want of a watch, he had affixed a leaden bullet; in order to know the truth of this circumstance, sent for him under some pretext or other. 'Corporal,' said the king, 'you must be economical, as well as brave, to have saved so much of your pay as to purchase a watch.' 'I flatter myself,'

²⁶⁷ Conversations with the late King of Prussia, with Anecdotes, p. 125, 126.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

replied the corporal, 'that I am brave; but my watch is worth very little.' Frederick pulling out his watch, which was of gold, set with diamonds, said, 'My watch points to five; what is it o'clock by yours?' The corporal, with a trembling hand, drawing out the leaden bullet from his fob, replied, 'Mine, fire, points neither to five nor to six o'clock; but it tells me plainly what kind of a death I must die for your majesty.' The king was so highly pleased with this answer, that he immediately gave the corporal his own watch, saying, 'Here, take this, in order that you may see every day the hour, before the time comes when you are to die for me ²⁶⁸.'

ONE of his hussars had robbed him, at different times, of sums to the amount of twenty thousand crowns; and had also received presents from several foreign ministers resident at Berlin, for communicating to them intelligence. The king, having received information of this, sent for the hussar, reproached him with his crimes, and said, 'You have robbed and deceived me; as a punishment for your ill conduct, I make you a drummer.' Frederick then called an adjutant, and immediately gave orders for his being made a drummer. The hussar retired with the adjutant, went into his apartment under pretence of fetching something, and shot himself

²⁶⁸ Zimmerman's Conversations and Anecdotes, p. 137.

through

through the head. When the adjutant told the king what had happened, he appeared much affected, and exclaimed, 'My God! tell me, then, did I treat this man too harshly ²⁶⁹?' CHAP. XXXVIII.

SOME young females, who were employed to represent the attendants of queens at the opera-house, petitioned the king to grant them an annual pension, and thereby place them upon a similar footing with the other persons employed at that theatre; alleging, that they could not live on what they received for each representation. Frederick replied, 'You have done ill to address yourselves to me. This affair only concerns your own kings and queens. You must apply yourselves to them: for I have laid it down as a maxim, never to intermeddle in the affairs of foreign courts ²⁷⁰.'

A FEMALE singer of his opera-house, who was a great favourite, made her escape, in order to return to Italy. Frederick sent some persons after her, who came up with her on the frontiers of Tyrol, in the dominions of the empress-queen; who, on application, made no difficulty of delivering her up to the Prussian agents. She was carried back to Potsdam, and on her being brought before the king, he said to her; 'Madam, why have you quitted me?' The poor singer,

²⁶⁹ Zimmerman's Conversations and Anecdotes, p. 127.

²⁷⁰ Vie de Frederic II. tome IV. p. 330, 331. edit. 12mo.

extremely

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

extremely terrified, did not answer a single word, but threw herself at the king's feet. 'Do not be afraid,' said Frederick: 'I only sent for you to bid you adieu. Now you may go where you please ²⁷¹.'

It is said, that after Frederick had first written his History of the War of Seven Years, it was all burnt by the stupidity of a page; who threw himself on his knees, when he informed the king of his misfortune. Frederick only said to him, 'So, I must write this history again.' Dr. Zimmerman says, 'Lucchefini assured me, that this anecdote was true; and that Frederick had really written a second time the History of the War of Seven Years ²⁷².'

On some occasions the king discovered great sensibility. He was much attached to lieutenant-general count Rothenburgh; and, in the latter years of that general's life, seemed not to be easy, if he was long without his company. During the general's last illness, Frederick frequently sat by his bed-side for hours. When he received the news of the general's death, he hastily left his palace, half-dressed, and crossed the street to the general's house. He shed tears at the sight of his body, but still seemed to entertain hopes that he was not dead; for he sent immediately

²⁷¹ Ibid. p. 263, 264.

²⁷² Conversations with the late King of Prussia, p. 110.

for a surgeon, ordered a vein to be opened, and held the basin himself. When he found, that the general could not be brought again to life, he left the house in great agitation, indulged his grief in private, and would scarcely see any company for several days.

CHAP.
XXXVIII

FREDERICK had a very high respect for the memory of the great elector, Frederick William, whom he considered as the greatest prince of his family. When an antient cathedral was demolished, in which some of the electors had been interred, their coffins were obliged to be removed; and the king gave orders, that the coffin of the great elector should be opened. He was present himself on the occasion, attended by two of his aids-du-camp. He viewed the corpse of the elector, which was well preserved, with great attention, for a considerable time, without speaking a word. At length, taking hold of the elector's hand, he said, with much emotion, 'Gentlemen, he did great things!—Shut the coffin ²⁷³.'

IN the second Silesian war, the king rode out, with very few attendants, to reconnoitre the enemy. A party of pandours lay in ambuscade in a wood, through which he was obliged to pass, and who fired several times at him, and

²⁷³ Vie de Frederic II. tome IV. p. 36, 37. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederic the Great, vol. II. p. 66, 67.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

those who were with him, but without effect. At last a soldier, who was with the king, called out, 'Sire, save your life: a pandour behind the next tree is aiming at your majesty.' The king turned round with great coolness, and seeing the pandour, who had just taken his aim, called out to him in a menacing tone, 'You! you! there, Sir!' The pandour was so struck with the king's look, manner, and commanding voice, that he immediately grounded his firelock, took off his hat, and stood in a respectful posture, till the king had passed by ²⁷⁴.

At the battle of Rosbach, the king saw a French grenadier, who though manifestly overpowered, defended himself with great gallantry, and refused to surrender; upon which the king rode up to him, and said, 'Brave grenadier, are you invincible?' 'Yes, sire,' replied the grenadier, 'if you were to command me ²⁷⁵.'

A FOREIGNER, who had settled in the Prussian dominions as a colonist, and who supposed himself to be so useful that the king would not willingly lose him as a subject, took an opportunity of addressing him, when he was making one of his tours through his dominions, and told him, that he should leave the country, with his wife and children, and go where he could be

²⁷⁴ Latrobe, p. 231, 232.
tome IV. p. 27.

²⁷⁵ Vie de Frederic II.

much better off. He hoped by this speech to have induced the king to grant him some farther advantages; but Frederick coolly replied, 'You are perfectly right, my good friend; for if I knew a place, where I should be better off than where I am, I would certainly go there myself'²⁷⁶.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

THE king was one day looking out of a window, at the palace of Potsdam, when he saw a crowd of people assembled together, and reading a paper that was stuck against the wall. He sent one of his pages to read it, and inform him what was the subject. The page returned, and acquainted him, that it was a libel against his majesty, in which his character was very severely treated. Frederick remarked, that the paper was placed so high, that people could not read it with any conveniency. He, therefore, sent his page back, to take it down, and stick it up lower, that those persons, who passed that way, might read it more at their ease²⁷⁷. He was once informed, by an officious attendant, that a particular person had spoken ill of him. He asked, if that person had a hundred thousand men. He was answered, that he had not. 'Then,' said the king, 'I can do nothing. If

²⁷⁶ Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 114, 115.

²⁷⁷ Vie de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, tome IV. p. 23. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 161, 162.

' he

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

‘ he had a hundred thousand men, I would declare war against him ²⁷⁸.’

DR. Moore, speaking of Frederick, says, ‘ He uses a very large gold snuff-box, the lid ornamented with diamonds, and takes an immoderate quantity of Spanish snuff, the marks of which very often appear on his waistcoat and breeches. These are also liable to be soiled by the paws of two or three Italian greyhounds, which he often caresses ²⁷⁹.’ He was much attached to dogs; and Mr. Latrobe informs us, that ‘ he had several of these animals of whom he was particularly fond, and in all his rooms were a number of small leather balls, with which he used to play with them. One of them, called *Biche*, was his particular favourite, had been his companion in many of his campaigns, and at her death he erected a small monument to her memory, in his gardens at Potsdam ²⁸⁰.’

²⁷⁸ Sherlock's Letters, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 236.

²⁸⁰ Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 17.

C H A P. XXXIX.

*Observations on the Military establishment of Prussia,
and on the Prussian Government.—Conclusion.*

THE military establishment of the Prussian dominions, by which an army of at least two hundred thousand men is constantly kept up [s], is so much beyond what might naturally be expected in a country of such moderate extent, that it cannot be supported without heavy taxes being laid upon the people [t], and a very rigid œconomy

CHAP.
XXXIX.

[s] The precise number of men in the Prussian army, including officers, in the year 1782, was 215,038. Historical Account of the Prussian army, by the baron de Helldorff, 8vo. Lond. 1783, p. 35.

[t] Dr. Moore observes, that ‘ all commodities are highly taxed in the Prussian dominions. At Berlin, though money is a great deal scarcer than at London or Paris, a stranger will find very little difference in the ordinary expence of living. There are no means by which his revenue can be augmented, which this king has not tried. He has taxed even the vanity of his subjects, and drawn considerable supplies since the beginning of his reign from that plentiful source. The rage which the Germans, above all men, have for titles, prompts many of the wealthy citizens to purchase that of some office about court; and although the king employs no person void of abilities, he never scruples to permit this kind of traffic. The title, however, is literally all that is sold: for with regard to the real business of the office, the purchaser has as little connexion with it after the bargain
‘ as

CHAP.
XXXIX.

oeconomy being maintained on the part of the government. Of the manner in which the native troops in Prussia are raised, the following account has been given: 'The king's dominions are divided into a certain number of cantons, or districts, each of which is obliged to raise a certain number of men. Not only each regi-

as before. Though his majesty scarcely ever consults with any body, he has more nominal privy-counsellors than any king in Christendom.' *View of Society and Manners, &c.* vol. II. p. 198.

The subjects of Prussia are so heavily taxed, that the inhabitants even of Berlin are not able to support a tolerable theatre. M. Riesbeck says, in his *Travels*, (vol. III. p. 52, 53) that 'though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garrison, amount to one hundred and forty-two thousand men, yet it is not able to keep up a good company of players.'—'You would imagine, that the officers alone, who are constantly from eight to nine hundred in number, would be sufficient to keep up a good theatre; but it is not so. In truth, this is one of the most eminent marks of the poverty and parsimony of the people of this place.'

It has been pretended, and Riesbeck professes to be of that opinion, that Frederick imposed such heavy taxes upon his people from maxims of a very refined policy, and in order to prevent luxury in his dominions. Undoubtedly, to lay such heavy taxes upon commodities, as would hinder persons even in the middle ranks of life from obtaining the conveniencies of it, was a very admirable method of preventing luxury. This will appear the more manifest, if it be farther considered, that all this was done, that the imposer of these taxes might be enabled to support an enormous army, to enslave his own subjects, and to keep his neighbours in perpetual alarm.

ment,

ment, therefore, but each company of a regiment has its particular district: and at the age of sixteen, every peasant, mechanic, merchant, or citizen, has his name inserted in the war-list of his canton; and is obliged, when called upon, to join the regiment, or company, belonging to that district. For it is very seldom, and only upon extraordinary occasions, that persons enrolled in one canton are allowed to be turned over to another corps; not even to the guards; because these have likewise their districts for national recruits, and are supplied only with foreigners from the rest of the army. When any regiment, or company, is in want of fresh men to supply the place of such as are dead, or dismissed from the service, a field-officer, commonly the major of the regiment, goes into the canton, and chooses the number requisite to supply the deficiency. This business is conducted in a very impartial manner; the subjects selected being always such as are the best fitted for service, and who are the least wanted at home. Among the peasantry, the eldest son is usually exempted from the service, that he may be educated to husbandry; and when a farmer has only one son, it seldom happens that he is forced into the army, unless he be remarkably tall and well made²³¹.

²³¹ Observations on the Military Establishment of the King of Prussia, p. 76, 77.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

DR. Moore says, ' Whatever number of sons a peasant may have, they are all liable to be taken into the service, except one, who is left to assist in the management of the farm. The rest wear badges from their childhood, to mark that they are destined to be soldiers, and ready to serve when the state requires them.'—' The king, however, endeavours to save his own peasantry, and draw as many recruits as he can from other countries. For this purpose, there are Prussian officers employed at Hamburgh, Franckfort, and other free towns of Germany. I have seen them also at Neufchatel, and at places near French garrisons, attempting to enlist men, and pick up deserters. The recruits procured in this manner, remain continually with the regiments in which they are placed; but the native Prussians have every year eight or nine months of furlough, during which they return to their fathers or brothers houses, and work at the business of the farm, or gain their livelihood in any other way they please[u]. Here is at once an immense saving, in

[u] Count Hertzberg says, that ' it would not be difficult to shew, that the Prussian army is a true national militia, such as that which the Romans had, and which the English have desired to have, but never had.' Dissertation, ut supra, p. 19. I perfectly agree with the count, that the English never had such a national militia as that of Prussia; and I do most sincerely hope, that they never will, in any period of the history

‘ in the expence of the army, and a great gain to
 ‘ the state from the labour of so many men ²⁸².’

WITH respect to the discipline of the Prussian
 army, it has been observed, that ‘ in Prussia, the
 ‘ foldier is instructed in a very methodical man-
 ‘ ner. When he is first brought to the regiment,
 ‘ he is placed under the care of a serjeant, who
 ‘ teaches him how to walk, and to hold up his
 ‘ head, as well as the use of his firelock ; and he
 ‘ is every day inspected by an officer, who is
 ‘ careful to see that he is properly instructed.
 ‘ For some days he is treated with gentleness,
 ‘ and allowance is made for his natural timidity
 ‘ and aukwardness. His duty is repeatedly ex-
 ‘ plained to him, and he is soon taught to know,
 ‘ that his body is to move only at the word of
 ‘ command, and that at the word *balt*, he is to
 ‘ be as immoveable as a statue. Indeed, the

history of the world, be in possession of such a militia. But
 I cannot agree with this noble writer in supposing, that the
 army of Prussia bears any very near resemblance to the militia
 of the antient Romans. As to the militia of England, it is cer-
 tainly not upon the footing that it ought to be ; it is abundantly
 too much in the power of the crown ; and, in framing our
 militia laws, the representatives of the people have not paid
 that attention, which they ought to have done, to the interests
 of their constituents, and of their country. But still the
 English militia is upon a footing extremely different from the
 standing army of Prussia ; and the standing army of England
 depends wholly, for its subsistence, by the constitution, upon
 the votes of the British parliament.

²⁸² View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 200, 201.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

‘ leading principle of his majesty’s military
 ‘ system seems to be, to reduce his troops to the
 ‘ nature of machines, to teach them to have no
 ‘ will of their own, and to be as deaf and as
 ‘ pitiless as their muskets²⁸³.’ It is also farther
 remarked by Dr. Moore, that ‘ the common
 ‘ state of slavery in Asia, or that to which people
 ‘ of civil professions in the most despotic coun-
 ‘ tries are subject, is freedom in comparison of
 ‘ this kind of military slavery [x]. The former
 ‘ are

²⁸³ Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. p. 85.

[x] M. Riefbeck; in his Travels, has taken much pains to convince his readers, that the Prussian soldiers enjoy more happiness than is commonly supposed; and, indeed, the condition of a Prussian soldier, whose pay amounts to about two-pence halfpenny a day, and who, when performing his exercise, is subjected to punishment for coughing or for sneezing, or for the most trifling and involuntary accident respecting his arms, must certainly be a very high state of human felicity. But Frederick himself was extremely apprehensive, that many of his men might be too perverse to view their situation in this favourable light. For, in no other army that ever existed, were such extraordinary pains taken for the prevention of Desertion. Some of Frederick’s regulations for this purpose may be seen in his Instructions for his generals; and Dr. Moore remarks, that ‘ however desirous a Prussian soldier may be to
 ‘ desert, the thing is almost impossible. The moment a man
 ‘ is missing, a certain number of canons are fired, which
 ‘ announce the desertion to the whole country. The peasants
 ‘ have a considerable reward for seizing a deserter, and are
 ‘ liable to severe penalties if they harbour, or aid him in
 ‘ making his escape; and parties from the garrison are sent
 ‘ after

‘ are not continually under the eyes of their
 ‘ tyrants, but for long intervals of time may
 ‘ enjoy life without restraint, and as their taste
 ‘ dictates; but all the foreign foldiers in this
 ‘ service, and those of the natives, who are
 ‘ suspected of any intention to desert, and con-
 ‘ sequently never allowed furloughs, are always
 ‘ under the eye of somebody, who has the power,

CHAP.
 XXXIX.

‘ after him in every direction. As none of the foldiers are
 ‘ ever allowed to go without the walls of the town (of Berlin),
 ‘ it requires great address to get over this first difficulty; and
 ‘ when they have been so far fortunate, many chances remain
 ‘ against their escaping through the Prussian dominions; and
 ‘ even when they arrive safe in any of the neighbouring
 ‘ states,

‘ *Nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos*

‘ *Insequitur.*

‘ For there they will probably be obliged to enlist again as
 ‘ foldiers; so that on the whole, however unhappy they may
 ‘ be, it is absurd to attempt desertion in any other way than
 ‘ by killing themselves; which method, as I am told, begins
 ‘ to prevail.’ View of Society and Manners, ubi supra, p. 144,
 145, 146.

The travels of M. Rieselbeck contain much curious informa-
 tion respecting several parts of Germany; but he was little
 acquainted with England, and was ill qualified to form such a
 comparative estimate, as he has attempted to make, between
 the different situation of English and Prussian farmers. Much,
 therefore, of what he has said upon this subject is extremely
 absurd; and his book contains many other injudicious and ill
 grounded observations relative to the character, conduct, and
 administration, of the late king of Prussia.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

‘ and too often the inclination, to controul every
 ‘ action of their bodies, and every desire of their
 ‘ hearts²⁸⁴.’

No advantages resulting from a standing army can be a compensation for the evil, of keeping so great a number of men in a state so servile, and so dishonourable to human nature. But, indeed, those large armies, which are now kept up in the different nations of Europe, are not maintained for the benefit of the people at whose expence they are supported, but for the preservation, and augmentation, of the power of their several princes. Count Hertzberg, however, says, speaking of the Prussian army, ‘ When an
 ‘ army is constituted and employed like ours, it
 ‘ is not a burthen, but rather a benefit to the
 ‘ state; and the more so, because it affords a
 ‘ substantial security against the sudden and
 ‘ dangerous invasions of any ambitious neighbour. In general, it appears to me, that it is
 ‘ now decided by undoubted experience, that if
 ‘ large standing armies increase in some degree
 ‘ the burthen, and the expences, of the inhabitants of a country, they abundantly compensate
 ‘ for this inconvenience by the security that they
 ‘ afford; and they also render wars less frequent,
 ‘ and less dangerous; because that every power
 ‘ being armed, they mutually respect each other,

²⁸⁴ View of Society and Manners, &c. ubi supra, p. 149, 150.

‘ whereby

‘ whereby sudden attacks, and unjust pretensions, are prevented. Hence it may be justly said, that by this great army the king has rendered a considerable service to the human race, and established a kind of PERPETUAL PEACE²⁸⁵.’

CHAP.
XXXIX.

Of all that the count has advanced upon this subject, the history of the reign of Frederick alone appears to be a sufficient refutation. He had always a numerous standing army; but he was engaged in long, repeated, and sanguinary wars; and it was certainly not true, during any part of his reign, that the different states of Europe were secure from sudden attacks, or from unjust pretensions. The fact really is, that such numerous standing armies can be constantly kept up for no other purposes but those of ambition; they are pernicious to the people by whom they are supported, and dangerous to the countries which surround them; and they should, therefore, by the enlightened nations of Europe, be universally discountenanced.

As to the Prussian government, no doubt can be entertained, but that it is in a very high degree despotic; and count Hertzberg has endeavoured to prove, that this is the best kind of government, if it be well administered²⁸⁶. But the probability always is, that this species of government will not be well administered; and

²⁸⁵ Dissertation sur la Population, &c. p. 21.

²⁸⁶ Dissertation, ubi supra, p. 32.

CHAP.
XXXIX

however ably or well it may be administered, it is a state of things in which human nature is degraded, and greatly inferior to a free constitution of government. A limited form of government, in which a proper attention is paid to the rights of the people, must ever be superior to any mode of despotic government, whatever may be the character or abilities of the prince.

COUNT Hertzberg says, that ' self-love, or ' personal interest, which is the great mover of ' all human actions, is more effectually directed ' to the happiness of a society, and of a state, by ' a single man, who finds it his own interest, ' than by many, who are never united, and who ' even cannot unite their views and their interests. If men possessed of the virtue and fortitude of ARISTIDES, of SCIPIO, and of CHATHAM, have not been able to succeed, and have ' rather abandoned the reins to an aristocracy, ' no other person ought to entertain hopes of ' succeeding ²⁸⁷.' He also endeavours to shew, that despotic governments may produce regulations for the public much superior to any which can comport with the nature of limited governments. But this, I think, I may venture to affirm, that though the English constitution is not without considerable defects [x], and though there

²⁸⁷ Dissertation, ut supra.

[x] Among those evils which the most loudly call for redress in England, one is, the practice of impressing seamen, which

there are often errors and gross misconduct in the public administration, yet there is no despotic government upon earth, in which the interests of the great body of the people have been so substantially promoted as in Great Britain. It often happens, at the close of a session, that the parliament of England have not done all that they might for the interest of the nation; and they not unfrequently, by passing new and injudicious laws, leave their constituents in a worse situation, than before they assembled. But such is the general excellence of the constitution [z], com-

CHAP.
XXXIX.

which is a disgrace to the nation, and totally inconsistent with the principles of the English constitution. It reflects no honour on the representatives of the people, that they have hitherto paid so little attention to the plans that have been proposed, for the removal of this grievance.

[z] The more excellent and valuable the English constitution is, the more vigilant ought the inhabitants of Great Britain to be, to prevent its principles from being violated. But this is far from being always the case. The standing army is voted with too little consideration or inquiry; the militia is not regulated as it ought to be; and the vast and perpetual augmentation of the excise is very unfavourable to national liberty. Great extensions of the excise-laws have been supported, in both houses of parliament, by men from whom better things might have been expected, and who have urged too much the plea of necessity. It does not follow, that because it is necessary that money should be raised for the purposes of government, that therefore no attention should be paid to the mode by which money is to be raised; and it should always be remembered by the people, that too implicit

a con-

CHAP.
XXXIX.

compared with the despotic governments of Europe, that the people of England, notwithstanding the occasional errors of their legislators, have always been in a better situation, than the inhabitants of any despotic countries, whatever might be the talents of the princes who ruled over such countries, or however able or upright the ministers whom those princes might employ. In no country of Europe has the personal liberty and property of the inhabitants been better secured; the laws were their security; and they have not been dependent on the will of the prince, or the caprice of his ministers. In a government like that of Prussia, or in any other despotic government, if the prince be of a mild and beneficent disposition, the subject may say, The king is good and gracious, and he will not oppress me. But the Englishman says, whatever may be the character of the prince, so long as the principles of the constitution are at all adhered to, This is my property, and these are my rights, and the king himself dare not take them from me. In a despotic government, however ably it may be administered, and whatever may be the virtues of the monarch, human nature is always in a state of degradation; and a despotic

a confidence ought not to be placed in any administration whatever. A vigilant attention in the nation to the conduct of those in power, is essential to the existence and continuance of public freedom.

govern-

government, however it be exercised, must ever be an irrational government. For it can never be consonant to reason, that the lives, liberties, and property of a whole nation, should be subjected to the will, pleasure, or caprice, of a single man, whatever may be the compass of his knowledge, or whatever the extent of his abilities.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

COUNT Hertzberg appears to be an upright, able, and well informed minister, and possessed of many amiable qualities ; but he has those prejudices in favour of a despotic government, which are natural to the minister of a despotic prince. In justice to him, it should, however, be observed, that notwithstanding what he has said in favour of a despotic government, yet, on the accession of the present king to the throne of Prussia, he advised him to confirm, to the inhabitants of Eastern and Western Prussia, their ancient rights and privileges. With this advice the king complied ; and by giving this advice count Hertzberg did himself great honour, and at the same time promoted the interest both of the prince and of the people. But, unfortunately, in any country where so large a standing army is kept up, as that in the Prussian dominions, the privileges of the people must ever be too much dependent on the mere will and pleasure of the monarch.

IN

CHAP.
XXXIX.

IN the course of this Work, I have had occasion to relate many transactions of war and bloodshed; and the period of time, which this history comprehends, exhibited too many scenes of carnage and of desolation. But it may be hoped, that, from a more general diffusion of knowledge, mankind will be at length convinced, that the arts of peace are much more worthy of cultivation than those of war; that a great part of the human race ought not to be sacrificed, to gratify the pride and the ambition of a few individuals, who may accidentally be placed in splendid situations; that the rights of men are of much greater importance than the prerogatives of princes; that government was instituted for the benefit of human society at large, and not for the private emolument of those who are invested with the offices of magistracy; and that the great objects of the philosopher, and of every enlightened legislator, should be, the advancement of those sciences, and of those arts, that tend to the true dignity and felicity of human beings; the promotion of universal peace and liberty; and communicating to men, throughout every quarter of the globe, the blessings of a mild, a just, and an equal government.



INDEX.

I N D E X.

A.

ALGAROTTI, FRANCIS, count, his character of Frederick William, and account of his regiment of tall guards, vol. I. p. 85, 86, 87. accompanies Frederick III. to Straßburgh, 110. farther particulars concerning him, 114, 115, 116.

America, United States of, conclude a treaty with the king of Prussia, II. 410.

ANHALT, prince of, defeats the Austrians and Saxons in the battle of Kesseldorff, I. 276, 277. Voltaire's character of that general, 278.

Apraxin, marechal, commands a Russian army against the king of Prussia, II. 18.

Armies, the pernicious tendency of those kept up in the different nations of Europe, II. 470, 471.

Arnold, the miller, his case, and the king of Prussia's conduct concerning it, 381—389.

Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, receives a visit from Frederick William, and his son the prince royal, I. 4. receives a visit from Frederick III. after his accession, 173. his dominions invaded by

I N D E X.

by the king of Prussia, 269. driven out of his electoral dominions by that prince, 487. his death, II. 259.
Augustus William, hereditary prince of Prussia, quits the army in disgust, II. 14. his death, 100. extracts from a letter supposed to be written by him to the king his brother on his death-bed, 106, 107, 108.

B.

Belleisle, marechal, concludes a treaty between Louis XV. and the king of Prussia, I. 165. his retreat from Prague, 199, 200.
BERLIN, Dr. Moore's description of that city, II. 301.
BEVERN, prince of, he is taken prisoner, II. 79. farther particulars concerning him, 80.
Bielfeld, baron, his description of Rheinsberg, vol. I. p. 34, 35, 36. his account of Frederick William's tall regiment, p. 90, 91. particulars concerning the baron, 315, 316, 317.
Bohemia, the extraordinary proclamation published by the king of Prussia in that country, 235, 236.
Breslaw, the king of Prussia receives in that city the homage of the Silesian nobility, clergy, and burghers, I. 80, 157.
Breslaw, treaty of, I. 191.
Broglio, marechal, obliged to take refuge in the capital of Bohemia, I. 199. takes upon him the command of the French army, *ibid.*
BROWN, marechal, count Algarotti's character of him, I. 473.
Burney, Dr. his description of Potsdam, II. 304. his account of Frederick's new palace of Sans Souci, 305, 306,

I N D E X.

306, &c. and of the king's public operas at Berlin,
344, 345.

C.

CHARLES, prince, of Lorrain, his successful operations
against the king of Prussia, I. 239. he is defeated by
that monarch in the battle of Hohen Friedberg, 247,
250. is again defeated by Frederick in the battle of
Sohr, 259, 263. farther particulars concerning him,
516. II. 41, 77.

Charles VI. emperor of Germany, his death, I. 127.

Charles VII. emperor of Germany, his death, I. 241.
reflexions of Voltaire on that event, *ibid*.

Chesterfield, earl of, his reflexions relative to the battle
of Gros Jagerdorff, II. 25.

CZASLAU, battle of, I. 184, 185, 186.

Coxe, Mr. his account of the king of Prussia's proceed-
ings relative to the Partition of Poland, II. 318, 319,
320, 321.

Custrin, siege of, II. 107—112.

D.

DAUN, marechal, gains a victory over the king of Prussia
in the battle of Kolin, II. 6, 7. other successful mili-
tary operations of his against that monarch, 100, 101,
102, 103. he surprizes Frederick at Hochkirchen,
128, 129, 130. is defeated by the Prussian monarch in
the battle of Lignitz, 209, 210. and in that of Torgau,
221, 222. farther particulars concerning him, 3, 4.

D'Argens, marquis, some account of him, I. 355, 356.

Denina, abbe, particulars stated by him relative to the
earlier years of Frederick, I. 21, 25, 27.

Deschamps,

I N D E X.

- Deschamps, John, some account of him, I. 49, 50.
 D'ALEMBERT, pays a visit to the king of Prussia, II. 267.
 his correspondence with him, 389, 390, 391, 392.
 Dantzick, the tyrannical and indefensible conduct of the
 king of Prussia respecting that city, II. 333, 334, 335,
 336.
 Dresden, Voltaire's account of the entry of the king of
 Prussia into that city, I. 279. exorbitant exactions
 imposed on it by Frederick, II. 49.
 Dresden, secret cabinet of, containing the archives of
 the electorate of Saxony, broken open by order of the
 king of Prussia, I. 452, 453.

E.

- Erfurth, account of the king of Prussia's entry into that
 city, II. 37, 38.
 Esterhazy, prince, his moderation when the Austrians
 were in possession of Potsdam, II. 218.
 EULER, LEONARD, account of him, I. 98, 99, 100.

F.

- Ferdinand, prince, of Brunswick, is appointed to com-
 mand the Hanoverian army, II. 72. his military
 operations against the French, 74, 75.
 Finck, general, surrounded, and taken prisoner, with
 all the troops under his command, at Falkenhayn, II.
 176. farther particulars concerning him, 169, 170,
 178.
 Fleury, cardinal, extracts from a letter of the king of
 Prussia to him, I. 193, 194, &c.
 FORMEY, J. H. S. account of him, I. 211, 212.

I N D E X.

Frederick, the first king of Prussia, his coronation, I. 95.

Frederick William, second king of Prussia, his character, vol. I. p. 5. origin of his desire of maintaining a numerous army, *ibid.* methods which he employed to procure men for his regiment of tall grenadiers, p. 6, 7. animosity between him and George II. king of England, 8, 9. a duel likely to have taken place between them, *ibid.* farther particulars concerning him, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. his last illness and death, 75, 76. his funeral, 83.

FREDERICK, the third king of Prussia, his birth, vol. I.

p. 2. his education, *ibid.* trained up in military exercises, p. 3. his application to literature, 4. accompanies his father on a visit to Augustus, king of Poland, *ibid.* misunderstanding between him and his father, 5. forms a design to quit his father's dominions, 20. his design discovered, 22. he is confined in the citadel of Custrin, 24. a reconciliation takes place between him and his father, 29, 30. his marriage, 32. accompanies his father to the imperial camp, 33. his first letter to Voltaire, 37. his correspondence with M. Suhm, 48, 49, 50, &c. accompanies his father to Holland, 54. becomes a free-mason, 55. his method of spending his time at Rheinsberg, 61, 62. 64, 65. is embarrassed for want of money, 69. obtains a loan from the empress of Russia, 70. his accession to the throne of Prussia, 80. disbands his father's regiment of tall guards, 89. declines being crowned, 93. goes to Strasburgh, 109. has an interview with Voltaire, 113. publishes his *Anti-Machiavel*, 118. claims, and seizes, two districts in the bishopric of Liege, 119, 120. enters the duchy of Silesia, on the death of the emperor Charles VI. and the accession of Maria Theresa, 136. enters into

I N D E X.

a negotiation with her, 137. sets up claims to some principalities in Silesia, 141. engages the Austrians at Molwitz, 148, 149. enters Breslaw, and receives the homage of the Silesian nobility, clergy, and burghers, 156, 157. he returns to Berlin, 163. sets out from thence again to oppose the progress of the Austrians, 172. has an interview with the king of Poland, 173, 174. gains the battle of Czaflau, 184. concludes a peace with the queen of Hungary, 191. applies himself to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, 202. establishes the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, 206. again prepares for war, 218. publishes a manifesto against the queen of Hungary, and sends rescripts to the different courts of Europe, 226, 228. puts himself at the head of his troops, and marches into Bohemia, 234. makes himself master of the city of Prague, and of other towns and fortresses, 237, 238. a stop put to the progress of his arms by prince Charles of Lorraine, 239. he is obliged to abandon Prague, and his other conquests, and to retire precipitately into Silesia, and from thence to Berlin, 240. he returns again to Silesia, at the head of seventy thousand men, and gains a compleat victory over prince Charles of Lorraine, in the battle of Hohen Friedberg, 244, 248, 250. encamps his army in Bohemia, 255. gains another victory in the battle of Sohr, 259, 264. returns to Berlin, 265. sets out again from that city, and puts himself at the head of his troops in Silesia, 269. he marches into Saxony, the city of Dresden surrenders to him, and he concludes a peace in that capital, 279, 280. he returns in triumph to Berlin, 282. his attention to civil regulations, and matters of domestic policy, 287. establishes the

I N E E X.

the Frederician code, 288. he receives a visit from marechal Saxe at Potsdam, 333, 334. he prevails on Voltaire to come and reside at his court, 321, 342. his mode of living at this period, 348—359. misunderstanding between him and Voltaire, 363. concludes a treaty with the king of Great Britain, 412. excites the jealousy and apprehension of his neighbours by his great military preparations, 416. publishes a declaration of his motives for opposing the court of Vienna, 441. enters the electorate of Saxony, 445. makes himself master of the city of Dresden, 248. seizes the revenues of the electorate of Saxony, 452. marches into Bohemia, and defeats the Austrians at Lowositz, 474, 478. the Saxon army surrenders to him, 484. his tyrannical conduct in Saxony, 492, 493. he is put under the ban of the empire, 497. he enters Bohemia at the head of a large army, and defeats the Austrians in the battle of Prague, 505, 509, 513. he is defeated by marechal Daun in the battle of Kolin, vol. II. p. 6, 7. he retires into Saxony, 10. his declaration on his dominions being invaded by the Russians, 20. he is reconciled to Voltaire, and continues to correspond with him, 53, 55. gains the victory of Rossbach, 60—67. defeats the Austrians in the battle of Lissa, 83—86. he besieges Schweidnitz, and makes himself master of it, 90, 91. a subsidiary treaty entered into between him and the king of Great Britain, 92. marches into Bohemia, and makes himself master of Koningsgratz, 105. he sets out from Bohemia, and returns into his own dominions, to oppose the progress of the Russians, 113. defeats the Russians at Zorn-dorff, 116—120. he is surprized by marechal Daun at Hochkirchen, 128—135. engages the Russians at

I N D E X.

Kunerſdorff, 166—170. defeats the Auſtrians at Ligitz, 208—211. and at Torgau, 221—226. he concludes a treaty of peace at Hubertsbourg, 259, 260. he returns to Berlin, after an abſence of more than fix years, 263. viſits his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia, 264. rebuilds the towns and villages deſtroyed during the war, and encourages agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, 265. receives an ambaffador from Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks, 266. he viſits the duchy of Sileſia, and makes ſundry new regulations in different parts of his dominions, 293, 294. receives a viſit from the emperor at Neifs, 299. returns the emperor's viſit at Neuſtadt, in Moravia, 313. he has a principal ſhare in the iniquitous partition of Poland, 319, 320. his attachment to muſic, 341, 342. his mode of living at this period, 348—356. conteſt between him and the court of Vienna, concerning the ſucceſſion to the electorate of Bavaria, 357, 359. he publiſhes a manifeſto at Berlin on that ſubject, 360. his ſpeech to his general officers, previoully to his ſetting out for Sileſia, 362, 363. his military operations, 365. correſpondence between him and the empreſs-queen, 366, 367. concludes a treaty of peace at Teſchen, 368. he interſeres in the affairs of Holland, in ſupport of the ſtadtholder, 392, 393. he eſtabliſhes the Germanic union, 409, 410. his laſt illneſs, 412, &c. his death, 423. his will, 424. his character, 427—432. farther account of his writings, 433. extracts from his Military Inſtructions for the generals of his army, 435, 436, 437. account of his Poſthumous Works, 438—443. additional anecdotes of him, 444—462.

Frederſtorf,

INDEX.

Frederstorf, attends Frederick when a prisoner at Custrin, and is afterwards taken into his service, and becomes his valet de chambre, and favourite, I. 24. farther particulars concerning him, 110.

Fouquet, general, his military operations, II. 86, 188, 195. taken prisoner by general Laudohn, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, 196.

G

Gellert, M. his conversation with the king of Prussia, II. 232, 233.

George I. king of Great Britain, pays a visit to the king and queen of Prussia at Berlin, I. 3.

George II. animosity between him and his brother-in-law, Frederick William, king of Prussia, I. 8, 9. his death, II. 229. Frederick's character of him, and statement of the principles on which he governed his British dominions, 442.

George III. his accession to the throne of Great Britain, II. 229. his first declaration to the parliament relative to the king of Prussia, *ibid.* Frederick's statement of his conduct respecting the American war, and of the manner in which he employed a considerable part of the money raised for the support of his civil list, 443, 444.

Glogau, that city taken by surprize, I. 144, 145, 146.

Gotha, account of the king of Prussia's arrival at that city, II. 38.

Governments, despotic, remarks on count Hertzberg's arguments in support of their utility, II. 471, 472.

GROSS JAGERSDORFF, battle of, II. 23, 24, 25.

Grunn, countess of, her vow, I. 175, 176.

INDEX.

H

- Haddick, general, enters Brandenburg, at the head of a body of Austrian troops, II. 41.
- Han, M. du, made preceptor to Frederick, I. 2, 3. he is visited by the king on his death-bed, II. 283, 284.
- Hanover, electorate of, invaded by the French, II. 16.
- Henry, prince, brother to the king of Prussia, particulars of his military exploits, II. 157, 158.
- HERTZBERG, count, his observations relative to the commencement of the Seven Years War, I. 440. he acts as Frederick's minister in concluding the treaty of Hubertsbourg, II. 259. his account of the close of Frederick's life, 420, 421, 422, 423. remarks on his observations relative to the supposed utility of numerous standing armies, 471.
- HOCHKIRCHEN, battle of, II. 128—135.
- Hoffman, Dr. his behaviour during his attendance on Frederick William as a physician, I. 74, 75.
- HOHEN FRIEDBERG, battle of, I. 246—251. remarkable observation made by Frederick on the occasion of that battle, 250.

I

- Jesuits, of Glatz, in Bohemia, go to return thanks to the king of Prussia, in a body, on account of his favour to them, and his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, I. 176.
- Johnson, Dr. his account of John Philip Barretier being introduced to Frederick William, I. 17, 18. his remarks

INDEX.

remarks relative to the earlier years of Frederick, 31, 32.

Joseph Benedict Augustus, succeeds his father as emperor of Germany, II. 399. he pays a visit to the king of Prussia, *ibid.* Frederick's curious remark on the conduct of the emperor to the clergy, 390, 391.

Jordan, Charles Stephen, account of him, I. 206, 207, his correspondence with the king, 208, 209.

K

Katte, lieutenant, he is tried for endeavouring to assist Frederick in making his escape out of the Prussian dominions, I. 23. is condemned and executed, 24.

Kayserling, baron, particulars concerning him, I. 57, 58.

KESSELDORFF, battle of, I. 274—278.

Keith, George, Earl Marshal of Scotland, the king of Prussia's letter to him, II. 9. particulars concerning him, *ibid.*

KEITH, marshall, his gallant behaviour in the battle of Hochkirchen, II. 131. his death, *ibid.* farther account of him, 133, 134.

KOLIN, battle of, II. 6—10.

Kuttenberg, camp of, description of it, I. 188, 189.

L

LAUDON, general, makes himself master of Glatz, II. 197. besieges Breslaw, 203. other military operations

INDEX.

- rations of that general, 195, 196, 208. he takes Schweidnitz by a coup de main, 240, 241.
- Law proceedings, new regulations concerning them established throughout the Prussian dominions, I. 287, 288, 289.
- Laws, establishment of, in different countries, the king of Prussia's observations on that subject, I. 290, 291.
- LEHWALD, general, defeats a body of twelve thousand Austrians, I. 243. marches against the Russians, II. 19. engages them at Gross Jagersdorff, 23. other military operations of that general, 28.
- Leipfic, the king of Prussia's tyrannical treatment of the inhabitants of that city, II. 43, 44, 45, 47, 48.
- LIGNITZ, battle of, II. 201—211.
- LISSA, battle of, II. 82—86.
- Lloyd, major-general, his remarks on the manner in which the king of Prussia opened his campaigns, II. 2. and on his conduct in the battle of Lissa, 84. his account of the fortress of Schweidnitz, 243.
- LOWOSITZ, battle of, I. 473—480.

M

- Machiavel, Frederick writes against him, I. 64, 65.
- Mara, madame, manner in which she was taken into the service of the king of Prussia, II. 311.
- MAUPERTUIS, PETER LEWIS MOREAU DE, his arrival at Wesel, I. 208. taken prisoner by the Austrians, 151. appointed president of the royal academy at Berlin, 294. particulars of his life, and of his writings, 379—382. his quarrel with Voltaire, 373, 383, 388.
- Maria Theresa, succeeds to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, on the death of her father, the emperor

INDEX.

- emperor Charles VI. vol. I. p. 127, 128. takes the
 ancient oath of the kings of Hungary, 129. her pri-
 vate correspondence with the king of Prussia, II. 365,
 366.
- Mettrie, Julien Offroi la, anecdotes of him, I. 369,
 370, 371.
- Military Academy at Berlin, account of that institution,
 II. 294, 295.
- Mitchell, Sir Andrew, his strong attachment to Frede-
 rick, and the king's regard for him, II. 121, 122.
- MOLWITZ, battle of, I. 148, 149, 150.
- Montigo, marquis of, his magnificent mode of travel-
 ling, I. 153.
- Moore, Dr. his account of the king of Prussia's ward-
 robe, I. 351. his description of Berlin, II. 301, 302.
 his observations on the taxation of the Prussian domi-
 nions, 463.

N

- Nivernois, duke of, sent as ambassador from the king
 of France to Frederick, I. 411.

O

- Olmütz, siege of that city, II. 101, 102.
- Opera-house at Berlin, description of it, I. 285, 286.
- Orphan-house at Potsdam, account of that institution,
 II. 296.

P

- PITT, WILLIAM, earl of Chatham, his character, II.
 192. the splendour of his administration, 193, 194.
- Peter III. ascends the throne of Russia, II. 249.
 professes a great admiration of the splendid qualities
 of

INDEX.

- of Frederick, *ibid.* enters into a treaty with him, 250. is dethroned in consequence of a conspiracy being formed against him by his wife, 251.
- POTSDAM, Dr. Burney's description of that city, II. 303, 304, 305.
- Parliament of England, the king of Prussia's statement of its venality, II. 443.
- Poland, account of the proceedings relative to the infamous Partition of that country, II. 318—332.
- Pollnitz, baron, his statement of the circumstance which occasioned Prussia to be elevated to the rank of a kingdom, I. 94. some account of him, 158, 159, 160. his character of Frederick William, king of Prussia, 14, 15, 16.
- Population of the Prussian dominions, II. 407, 408.
- PRAGUE, battle of, I. 509—514.
- Prussian army, remarks on count Hertzberg's statement of its being a true national militia, II. 466, 467.
- Prussian army, manner of raising recruits for it among the natives of the country, II. 464, 465. number of which it consisted in the year 1782, p. 463.

Q

- Quantz, M. a musical composer and performer, the king of Prussia's attachment to him, and to his compositions, 342, 343, 344.
- Quintus Icilius, or colonel Guisehard, anecdotes of him, II. 310, 352, 353, 354, 355.

R

- Randan, duke de, his meritorious conduct in the electorate of Hanover, II. 152, 153.

Rochow,

INDEX.

- Rochow, baron, character of him, I. 481.
 ROSBACH, battle of, II. 62—70.
 Rothenburgh, lieutenant-general, the king of Prussia's attachment to him, II. 458.
 Rheinsberg, castle of, description of it, 34, 35. manner in which Frederick employed his time there when prince-royal, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67.
 Riefbeck, M, remarks on some of his observations relative to the character, conduct, and administration of Frederick, II. 464.

S

- SAXE, marechal, Voltaire's account of him, I. 168, 169. pays a visit to the king of Prussia at Potsdam, 332. his death, 338.
 Saxony, the exorbitant exactions imposed on the inhabitants of that electorate by the king of Prussia, II. 42, 43, 44, 200. other instances of his tyrannical treatment of the inhabitants of that country, 146, 147, 148, 201.
 School of Noble Cadets, account of that institution, II. 295, 296.
 Sermons, some written by the king of Prussia, II. 59.
 SCHWERIN, marechal, has a principal share in obtaining a victory over the Austrians at Molwitz, I. 149, 150. is killed in the battle of Prague, I. 510. a statue erected to his memory by the king of Prussia, 514. farther particulars concerning him, 515, 516.
 Schwerin, count, his account of the commencement of the battle of Prague, I. 506, 507, 508.
 Seckendorff, count, the king of Prussia's character of him, I. 26.

Schweidnitz,

INDEX.

- Schweidnitz, fortrefs of, taken by the Austrians, II. 77.
 retaken by the king of Prussia, II. 90, 91. taken
 again by general Laudohn, 240, 241. major-general
 Lloyd's description of that fortrefs, 242. it surrenders
 again to the king of Prussia, 253.
- SEIDLITZ, general, his artful method of deceiving the
 French generals, II. 38, 39, 40.
- Smollett, Dr. his remark on the effects of the conduct
 of George II. respecting Hanover, II. 76. his obser-
 vations on the conduct of the king of Prussia to the
 inhabitants of Saxony, 148, 149.
- SÖHR, battle of, I. 259—264.
- Sophia, princess, mother to king George I. baron Poll-
 nitz's character of her, I. 158.
- Sophia Charlotte, wife to Frederick I. king of Prussia,
 her character, I. 96, 97.
- Straßburgh, circumstances which attended the king of
 Prussia's arrival incognito in that town, I. 110, 111,
 112.
- Subsidies, paid to the king of Prussia by Great Britain,
 II. 92, 93, 94, 154, 182. not productive of the least
 benefit to the nation by which they were paid, 94,
 182, 184.
- Sulkowski, a Polish grandee, carried off from his own
 estates, and conveyed as a prisoner to Glogau, in an
 arbitrary and unjust manner, by order of the king of
 Prussia, II. 156.
- Suhm, Ulric Frederick de, correspondence between him
 and Frederick, when prince-royal, I. 47, 48, 67.
 farther particulars concerning him, 103, 104.

INDEX.

T

- TORGAU, battle of, II. 221—226.
- Treaties of Breslaw, I. 191. of Hubertsbourg, II. 259. of Teschen, 386.
- Treaties, the king of Prussia's apology for the breach of them, II. 441, 442.
- TRENCK, baron, particulars of his life, and of his tyrannical and inhuman treatment at Magdeburgh, by the command of the king of Prussia, II. 269—291.
- Trufches, count, his death, I. 251. particulars concerning him, *ibid.*

V

- VOLTAIRE, his first correspondence with Frederick, I. 37, 43. has an interview with him near Cleves, 113. his character of Frederick William, 11—16. repeated applications made by the king of Prussia to induce him to quit France, and reside at the court of Berlin, 339, 341. his arrival at the Prussian court, and reception there, 342. his account of the king's private life, 348, 349, 353, 354, 357, 358. misunderstanding between him and the king, 363, 364. his lawsuit with a Jew, 365. his dispute with Maupertuis, 373—385. he quits Berlin, and is arrested at Franckfort, 388, 392. the correspondence between him and the king of Prussia renewed, II. 55, 59. his death, 370. Frederick writes a panegyric on him, which is read at an extraordinary meeting of the royal academy at Berlin, *ibid.* his character, and farther particulars concerning him, 376—381.

INDEX.

W

- War, Art of, account of the king of Prussia's poem on that subject, I. 305—309.
- War, observations by baron Bielfeld on its accumulated evils, I. 318, 319.
- War between Great Britain and the American colonies, remarks on its impolicy by the king of Prussia, II. 267, 268.
- Wargotsch, a Silesian nobleman, a scheme said to be formed by him to deliver the king of Prussia into the hands of the Austrians, II. 246, 247.
- Wedel, general, engages the Russians in the battle of Zulichau, II. 164.
- Winter Campaigns, king of Prussia's observations relative to them, II. 87, 88.
- WINTERFELDT, general, his death, II. 37. regret expressed by the king of Prussia on that occasion, *ibid*.
- WOLFIUS, CHRISTIAN, account of him, I. 105, 106; 107.

Z

- Zastrow, lieutenant-general, commands a body of Hanoverians against the French, II. 74. surrenders the fortress of Schweidnitz, II. 241. is refused a court-martial by the king of Prussia, 243.
- Ziethen, general, particulars respecting his military operations, I. 509. II. 86.
- Zimmerman, Dr. he arrives at Potsdam, in order to attend the king of Prussia as a physician, II. 415. account of his conversations with him, 416—420.

Zittau,

INDEX.

Zittau, cruelties with which the taking of that town
was attended, II. 12, 13.

ZORNDORFF, battle of, II. 115—120.

ZULICHAU, battle of, II. 164.

FINIS.

PUBLISHED BY THE SAME AUTHOR,
AND SOLD BY G. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

I.

An ESSAY on the LIFE, CHARACTER, and WRITINGS, of Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON. Price 2s. 6d.

II.

OBSERVATIONS on Mr. HUME'S HISTORY of ENGLAND. Price 2s. 6d.

III.

A VINDICATION of the Political Principles of Mr. LOCKE: in Answer to the Objections of the Rev. Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester. Price 2s

IV.

OBSERVATIONS on the Rights and Duty of JURIES, in Trials for LIBELS: together with Remarks on the Origin and Nature of the LAW of LIBELS. Price 2s. 6d.

V.

THOUGHTS on the COMMENCEMENT of a NEW PARLIAMENT. With an Appendix, containing Remarks on the Letter of the Right Hon. EDMUND BURKE, on the REVOLUTION IN FRANCE. Price 2s. 6d.

